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REFLECTIONS ON SCOTTISH CHURCH HISTORY

Reflections on Scottish Church History

BY

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FOREWORD

THE following pages make no pretence to original research. They are simply the outcome of comparing together the principal writers who, from various points of view, have dealt with the Church history of Scotland. The endeavour has been to interpret aright the general course of events so far as admitted by all.

At the request of the publishers, historical sketches of the Scots Colleges abroad have been added by way of Appendix.

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REFLECTIONS ON SCOTTISH CHURCH HISTORY

CHAPTER I

ROME AND EARLY CHRISTIANITY

Not so long ago even educated Scotsmen fondly believed that the early Christianity of their country was restored to them by Knox. The notion is still held by a few fanatics, but it has been wholly abandoned by accredited historians on evidence clear as noonday. In the latest work published on the subject Professor Lloyd of Bangor bears testimony: "No theological difference parted the Roman from the Celtic Church; for the notion that the latter was the home of a kind of primitive Protestantism of apostolic purity and simplicity is without any historical basis." However, one point is left on which many of these historians profess to console themselves, and that is their idea that the Celtic Church was not Roman. They do not realize that if the Celtic Church was not also Roman, there would have been a vast theological difference. Their contention is that the Celtic Church may have been at first subject to Rome before what they call the papal usurpation of power, but that during the isolation caused by the Saxon conquest of England it drifted apart and no longer recognised the claim of Rome on

obedience. The truth about this remains to be seen.

The following have been consulted among others :—

Thomas Innes, *Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Scotland.*
Joseph Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times.*
Skene, *Celtic Scotland* (1887), Vol. II.
Grub, *An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland,* Vol. I.
Macewen, *A History of the Church in Scotland* (1912), Vol. I.
Dowden, *The Celtic Church in Scotland.*
Campbell (Story Series), *The Church of Scotland.*
Also, *The Letters of St Columbanus,* Adamnan's *Life of St Columba,* and Bede's *Ecclesiastical History.*

The course of early Christianity in Scotland may be distinguished into three periods—(1) during the Roman occupation, when the greater part of Britain belonged to the Roman Empire of the Cæsars ; (2) from the departure of the Romans in 410 till the appearance of St Columbanus in Gaul (France) in 590 ; and (3) from 590 till 716, when Iona adopted the Easter of the nineteen-years' cycle.

I

PERIOD OF THE ROMAN OCCUPATION

On the testimony of Tertullian, who wrote at the beginning of the third century, the Christian Faith had spread throughout Roman Britain, and even beyond the Roman pale, which would mean

that at least some of the Picts had embraced it thus early. Macewen doubts the accuracy of the statement as being rhetorical. But anybody who can read Tertullian knows that he is the last man to indulge in rhetoric, and in any case rhetoric need not be false. St Ninian belongs to this time later. Bede tells us that the northern and southern Picts were divided "by steep and rugged mountain chains," evidently the Grampian range. "For the southern Picts," he continues, "who have their seats on this side of the same mountains, had, as they relate, a long time before forsaken the error of idolatry and received the faith of truth, when the Word was preached to them by Ninian, a most reverend bishop and very holy man of the race of the Britons, and one who had been regularly trained at Rome in the faith and mysteries of truth" (*Ecc. Hist.* III. 4). So far, therefore, during this period Christianity was confined to the south and east of the Grampian line. All outside writers are forced to admit its close connection with Rome, though in the case of some there is a tendency to slur it over or to distract the attention of the reader, as when Ninian going to Rome is compared to "an intelligent Kaffir youth seeking some Anglican centre," or the supposed pomp of Pope St Damasus, who received Ninian, is dwelt on at great length. Skene (Vol. II. ch. i.) is frank and honest: "During the Roman occupation the Christian Church in Britain was a part of the Church of the Empire. It was more immediately connected with that of Gaul, but it acknowledged Rome as

its head, from whom its mission was considered to be derived, and it presented no features of difference from the Roman Church in the other western provinces." But he now adds: "Protestant Church historians are unreasonably jealous of admitting any connection between the early British or Irish Church with Rome; but the Rome of the fourth and fifth centuries was not the Rome of the Middle Ages. It was the Church of St Jerome and St Augustine. There was no question then about supremacy, and the Bishop of Rome was simply regarded with deference and respect as the acknowledged head of the Christian Church within the western provinces of the Empire, of which Rome was the capital. Questions of ecclesiastical supremacy did not emerge till the Empire was broken up." If Skene had been as conversant with the sources of general ecclesiastical history as he was with those of early Scottish history he would never have given such an explanation. It is evident that he borrowed it in good faith from one of those writers who ignore the overwhelming trend of evidence to fasten on isolated cases of real or supposed opposition to the Bishop of Rome, just as if no acknowledged authority could ever be disobeyed. To begin with, his reference to the Church of St Jerome and St Augustine is rather unfortunate. Both are truly representative of the fourth and fifth centuries, the one dying in 420, and the other in 430. Skene could have read in the extant letters of St Jerome how for a time he "assisted Damasus, Bishop of the Roman city, in replying

to synodical consultations from the East and the West" (Ep. 123, n. 10); and writing in the year 376 to the same Pope (by the way, the patron of our St Ninian): "I have considered it my duty to consult the Chair of Peter . . . I, *following no leader but Christ*, am united in communion with Your Beatitude, that is, with the Chair of Peter. On that rock I know that the Church is built. Whoever eats the lamb out of that house is profane. Whoever may not be in the ark of Noah will perish in the deluge" (Ep. 15, n. 16). And St Augustine, in his extant sermons, told his people how Pelagianism was condemned: "On this cause (the findings of) two councils have been sent to the Apostolic See, and the reply has come from thence: the cause is ended; would that the error would sometime end" (Serm., 181). Again later: "By the letters of Pope Innocent of blessed memory all doubt on this point was removed." Why, St Jerome and St Augustine speak like the Vatican Council. It is needless for the present purpose to cite the other Fathers from St Irenæus in the second century downwards; but it is impossible to omit the sarcasm of Tertullian after he became a Montanist: "I hear that an edict has gone out, and a peremptory one at that; the Chief Pontiff, that is the Bishop of bishops, decrees—'I pardon adultery and fornication to such as do penance.'" (*De Pudicitia*, cap. I.). This reference to Pope St Zephyrinus was written in the very beginning of the third century, and the irony is only explicable on the supposition of its having been thus

early the immemorial belief that the Pope was "the head of all the churches." The decree regarded the East as well as the West.

There is a line of evidence that would have appealed to the historical mind of Skene, if he had only read up the sources for himself. This is the testimony of three historians, who belonged to "the Eastern provinces of the Empire," who themselves lived in the fourth and fifth centuries, and who otherwise for various reasons are not suspect witnesses. The first is the celebrated historian, Eusebius of Cæsarea, who was more of a courtier than a bishop; he was born as early as the year 260. The second is Sozomen, who died in the first quarter of the fifth century; he was a lawyer at Constantinople. The third is Theodoret of Cyrus, who was born in 393 and died in 457; he was suspected of Nestorianism and deposed by the bishops in the East, but he appealed to Pope St Leo, who annulled the deposition as adjudged on insufficient evidence. The pages of these historians repeatedly record the authoritative interference of the bishops of Rome in the affairs of the Eastern Church. Only a few instances, but enough, can be given here. Thus Eusebius (V. 3) tells how Pope Eleutherius in the year 171 interfered to bring peace to the churches of Asia Minor; and (V. 24) how even earlier, in 157, St Polycarp of Smyrna came to Rome to have controversies settled by Pope Anicetus. Sozomen records (III. 8) how "the Roman Bishop Julius" restored Eastern bishops to their sees, "as on account of the dignity of his

see (or throne) the care of all appertained to him"; and Theodoret (III. 4) how the same Julius, "following the rule of the Church, cited the divine Athanasius (*of all men in the world*) to appear before him, who, as soon as he received the citation, at once started on his journey." This was done in the first half of the fourth century. Again, Sozomen (VI. 22) relates how in 378 Pope St Damasus (whose pomp according to Macewen scandalised St Ninian) wrote to the churches of the East to condemn the Macedonian heresy, "whereupon the controversy was terminated by the judgment of the Roman Church." The lawyer of Constantinople speaks like St Augustine. There remains to be given the testimony of the celebrated Justinian Code, the first title of the first book of which has embodied the letter of the emperor to Pope St John II.: "Rendering honour to the Apostolic See and to Your Holiness . . . we have hastened to bring to the knowledge of your Apostolic See all that appertains to the state of the Churches. . . . Nor do we suffer anything appertaining to the state of Churches to be withheld from the knowledge of Your Holiness, who art the Head of all the holy churches." No one who knows history will accuse the emperor Justinian of having been a priest-ridden ruler, but the reverse. From his seat of empire in Constantinople he interfered with the best of motives in purely ecclesiastical matters. The date of the letter is 533, which is considerably before the Middle Ages, and only thirty-three after the fifth century. Justinian was not the

man to have called the Pope "the Head of the holy churches" if it had not been the universal belief of the previous centuries. In fact he was only echoing the words written in the fourth century, a hundred and fifty years earlier, by the emperor Valentinian II. to his colleague, the great Theodosius: "The most blessed Bishop of Rome, to whom antiquity hath given the principality of the priesthood over all, hath the place and power to judge of faith and priests." This referred to the Macedonian heresy in "the Eastern provinces of the Empire," and the Pope of the time was St Ninian's patron, none other than St Damasus, to whom Theodosius submitted for approval the decrees of the council held in 381 at Constantinople. In the fourth century itself the "principality over all" was a matter of "antiquity." Accordingly, the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome is writ large for all to read who do not purposely turn away their eyes. As Skene very truly says, "there was no question then about supremacy," but for the very good reason that there was no doubt about it. It was in actual exercise not only "in the Western," but also in the Eastern provinces of the Empire, throughout this period as well as before and after. We can then well imagine what St Ninian taught the southern Picts about the Chair of Peter, on which sits "the Head of all the holy churches" to command obedience as well as "deference and respect."

II

THE PERIOD OF ISOLATION FROM 410 TO 590

During the fifth century took place the conversion of Ireland by St Patrick; and it is well to note that all outside writers agree on the close connection which thereafter subsisted between that country and Scotland in the matter of their common faith. Thus Macewen (Vol. I. pp. 29, *sqq.*) for example: "The Christianity which converted, civilised, and indeed created Scotland was cradled and matured in Ireland." He adds: "Ireland being unconquered by Rome, the conversion was not due to imperial forces." But it was due to papal forces. For this reason Macewen sees fit to write very much at random: "Patrick had adventures and qualities wholly inconsistent with the idea that he was an accredited representative of the Bishop of Rome"; but he does not explain how. However, further on, evidently impressed by the researches of little suspect writers like Bury and Zimmer, he adds: "For our purpose the legends which link St Patrick to the papacy have only a passing importance." However, the importance is more than passing. The saint, in order to prepare himself for his mission, went to France and was trained by St Germanus of Auxerre in an exceedingly papal school. It was this St Germanus who, along with St Lupus of Troyes, was sent in

431 by Pope Celestine I. to free Wales from the danger of Pelagianism. He was in continual communication with Rome. The vision of writers like Macewen is bounded by a very restricted horizon. Among the letters of this Pope Celestine still extant there is one to the bishops of Gaul (France), in which he refers in a passing way to "the sanctions of the Apostolic See" as being "inviolable"; and in another letter to the bishops of Illyricum he alludes to the business which was being continually submitted to him "from all the churches." It was again this Pope Celestine who appointed Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, his deputy to preside at and control the proceedings of the Council of Ephesus for the condemnation of the Nestorian heresy. Such was the atmosphere St Patrick breathed in preparation for his mission. Before him, on the testimony of Prosper of Aquitaine, Pope Celestine had sent Palladius "as first bishop to the Scots believing in Christ," which must be understood of Ireland, as the Scots had not yet, at least in any great number, settled in Britain. This is confirmed by the Irish annals, which refer to Christians already existing in the south-east of Ireland, and state that Palladius, after labouring only one year among them, passed over to Britain and died in the land of the Picts. Hence there is no inherent improbability in the Scottish tradition that he was the St Palladius or the Paldy (or Pady) of Fordoun in the Mearns. During the sixth century appeared the two great saints, Kentigern and Columkille, who com-

pleted the conversion of the country. Their well-known meeting on the banks of the Molendinar Burn attests the solidarity in the faith which subsisted between them. St Kentigern laboured in the south, and had close communications with his fellow-Britains in Wales. St Columkille and his monks converted the northern Picts. It is well to note that the monasticism of Ireland, like its Christianity, owes under God its origin to St Patrick, which these outside writers ignore. In his "Confession" he says that "they (the Irish) have become the people of the Lord and are called the sons of God"; and "the sons of the Scots and the daughters of princes are seen to be monks and the spouses of Christ." Thus, by the end of the sixth century, the present territory of Scotland was a Christian country, though inhabited by different races that did not form one nation.

That during this period there was to a considerable extent isolation from the rest of the Church, caused by the invasion and conquest of England by the pagan Saxons, is beyond doubt. But these outside writers exaggerate the case in order to ground their contention that (as they fondly think) what they call "the Celtic Church" emerged independent of Rome. Thus Skene in one place declares that "all communication with Rome and the rest of the Church was cut off"; but further on he qualifies, "communication was almost entirely cut off," hence not quite. It was during this period that SS. Germanus and Lupus came across to Wales, and St Patrick and many

others to Ireland. There can be no question that there was at least occasional communication by sea with Gaul (France), just as there was afterwards "in the spacious days (no thanks to her) of the great Elizabeth" with Spain. Thus, for example, Adamnan records how St Columba and his companion, Lugbeus, on a voyage met a Gallic ship off Kintyre, and how "the Gallic sailors from the provinces of the Gauls" gave them the news of the destruction by earthquake of a continental city. The explanation of how "the Celtic Church" became independent of Rome, is thus given by Macewen (p. 2): "It stood apart from Catholic Christianity—not deliberately or even consciously separatist, yet separate, isolated, and in its isolation embodying and perpetuating the Christianity of a nation"; and the conclusion is (p. 37): "At the end of the fifth, and throughout the sixth, the Church of the Scots in their Irish home (hence, of course, also in in their British home) was certainly not in subjection to Rome." There is an unconscious equivocation here. The Japanese converts of St Francis Xavier and other missionaries were for nearly two hundred years in the most absolute sense of the term cut off by their government from the rest of the Church. Of them it could also be said that they were apart from Catholic Christianity "not deliberately or even consciously separatist, yet separate, and in their isolation embodying and perpetuating" Christianity in their nation. Yet on the return of the Catholic missionaries in the nineteenth century they at

once resumed the actual exercise of their subjection to Rome as the divinely appointed centre of Catholic communion. Though isolated, they had held to the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome all along throughout the long day of separation. However, in Macewen's sense of the word, it could be said that during the isolation they were not in subjection, because they could not get at Rome, nor could Rome get at them; but that is a different thing. The extent to which "the Celtic Church" was isolated during the fifth and sixth centuries cannot be compared for a moment with the absolute isolation of these Japanese Catholics.

Skene gives a graphic account of how St Columbanus in the year 590 left Ireland and suddenly appeared in Gaul (France) to an astonished world. It is admitted that he represents the faith of his countrymen at the end of the isolation. He and his twelve companions had come from the celebrated monastery of Bangor in County Down, in the remote "isle of the West"; yet they felt quite at home in their pilgrimage, for "they spoke (Latin) the common language of the Western Church." They would have been puzzled by Macewen's quotation from Green: "It seemed as if Celtic, not Latin, Christianity was to mould the Churches of the West." The only difference that could be found was in a matter of discipline. No fault was found with their "Celtic" tonsure, because it was common enough in France at the time. But Columbanus followed the old Roman rule about the Easter date, whereas during the isolation a new cycle for Easter had been adopted

on the continent. It was twelve years before he was troubled even on this point; but at last the French clergy called on him to fall into line with the rest of the Church. The consequence was, as Skene says, "an appeal by Columbanus to the Pope himself. To Columbanus Rome was the traditional Rome of the fourth and fifth centuries. He calls the Bishop of Rome 'the holy lord and apostolic father in Christ, the Pope,' and adds that 'he had long wished to confer with those who preside in the apostolic chair, the most beloved prelates over all the faithful, the most reverend fathers by right of apostolic honour.' He appeals to the Council of Constantinople (held in 381) that 'the Churches of God established among the barbarians should be let live according to the laws taught them by their fathers.'" This would seem to be a full enough confession of faith (and more will be seen presently); but now follows the amazing conclusion drawn by Skene: "The position which Columbanus took up was substantially this: 'Your jurisdiction as Bishop of Rome does not extend beyond the limits of the Roman empire. I am a missionary from a church of God among the barbarians, and though temporarily within the limits of your territorial jurisdiction, and bound to regard you with respect and deference, I claim the right to follow the customs of my own church handed down to us by our fathers.'" He makes Columbanus contradict himself by the very words he quotes from the saint's letter, "the most beloved prelates over all the faithful"; and it

has been seen what "the traditional Rome of the fourth and fifth centuries" was. It is evident that Skene, as not being in his line, has borrowed this gloss from one of the usual outside writers on Church history. If he had only consulted the extant letters of St Columbanus for himself, he would have read a very different tale. In his appeal to Boniface IV. St Columbanus begs the Pope "to give the solace of thy sentence, so that if it is not against the Faith, we may have thy decision to be allowed to retain the rule of Easter as we received it from our fathers . . . we beg the weight of thy authority." He pressed two arguments: (1) that Pope Anicetus in the middle of the second century allowed St Polycarp, who had come to Rome all the way from Smyrna in the East, to retain his own Easter: this point of his is for an obvious reason omitted by outside writers; (2) that the Council of Constantinople, held in 381, excepted from certain disciplinary laws those residing outside the bounds of the Empire. It would have occurred to the mind of Skene that this double plea, like an appeal to the law of the land, implies an admission of jurisdiction over himself by the saint who made it. The upshot was that St Columbanus was allowed to hold his own way in peace; it was only a matter of discipline, and the supreme authority in Rome was now, as later in history, more indulgent than zealous promoters of conformity at a distance. But we are not yet done with St Columbanus, whose extant letters contain the following passages: "All we Irish living at the far ends of the

earth are the disciples of SS. Peter and Paul . . . no heretic, no Jew, no schismatic was ever among us, but the Catholic Faith as it was first delivered by you, the successors of the holy apostles, is held unchanged." And again: "We, as I have already said, are bound to the Chair of St Peter; for though Rome (otherwise) has a great renown, on account of that chair alone is she to us great and renowned. For this reason are you great and renowned, and Rome herself more noble and illustrious: you are all but celestial, and Rome is the head of the churches of the whole world." And still again: "Great is your honour from the dignity of the chair . . . there is no one who does not know that our Saviour gave to St Peter the keys of the kingdom of heaven. The unity of faith in the whole world made (necessary) the unity of power and prerogative." Thus speaks St Columbanus for the "Celtic Church" emerging from the period of isolation. His appearance in France took place just seven years before the death of St Columba of Iona, his great fellow-countryman and, as Macewen says, "the nationality and Christianity of Scotland were first shaped by Columba."

III

THE PERIOD OF SO-CALLED STRIFE FROM 590 TO 716

During this period the conversion of the Picts was consolidated by the disciples of St Columba

and by other missionaries from Ireland, while the Scots in the west kept up a close connection with their brethren in that country. However, in the meantime, the still pagan Angles had overrun the south-east of Scotland. The outstanding event of the time was the conversion by the mission from Iona of Northumbria, which then extended to the Firth of Forth. The mission lasted only thirty years, but the result was lasting, and left its mark on England in the great bishops who had been trained in the school of SS. Aidan, Finian, and Colman, such as SS. Cuthbert, Chad, and even Wilfrid himself, in his early years a pupil at Lindisfarne. It was not till 660, during St Colman's episcopate in Northumbria, that "the Celtic Church" was troubled about its Easter. What is called the "Celtic" Easter of the Irish and Britons was in reality the old Roman Easter of the eighty-four years' cycle, just as what is called the "Celtic" tonsure was in reality one of the "Roman" forms of tonsure. St Patrick brought both over with him from Gaul (France) to Ireland. But during the period of isolation changes had taken place on the continent. In course of time the tonsure, from ear to ear, as a matter of custom gradually disappeared to give place to the coronal tonsure. In 457 a cumbrous five hundred and thirty-two years' cycle was adopted, and in the year 525 the nineteen years' cycle, which is still the rule. The outside writers with whom we deal speak loosely about "Rome"; to them a St Wilfrid or a Ronan is "Rome"; but, as far as the Holy See itself is concerned,

a great latitude was allowed. Thus St Columbanus, whose tonsure was not called in question, was not even disturbed about his date for keeping Easter till twelve years after his coming to France, and that by the local bishops, not by the Pope. There is a letter still extant of Cummian, abbot of Durrow in Ireland, written in the year 634 to Segine, abbot of Iona, which throws considerable light on this attitude. He states that in the south of Ireland the new Roman cycle of nineteen years had already been adopted, as also by some in the north. In the north, however, there was still general hesitation, and he tells Segine that a deputation was sent "to the Apostolic See, to the city of Rome, the head of cities, as children to a mother." Rome at that date in a political sense was a mere provincial town. And what is most significant, this deputation was in Rome for Easter, and apparently its members were allowed without let or hindrance to keep the feast in their own way, as they found that they differed by a whole month that year from everybody else. They were "in one lodging with a Greek, a Hebrew, a Scythian, and an Egyptian, who celebrated their Easter in St Peter's together." "This Easter," they reported, "is celebrated to our knowledge all the world over." Still the north of Ireland hesitated; some years afterwards a letter on the subject was sent by the bishops and abbots to Pope Severinus, and in reply came an exhortation to follow the more perfect cycle. In the end it was Adamnan, abbot of Iona, who induced them to do so, though he had

been unable to persuade his own monks at home. Strange to say, it was the Saxon monk, Egbert, who in 716 succeeded where Adamnan had failed. Skene alone of all these outside writers takes a wide survey of the facts of the case; the others confine their attention to the Northumbrian Council of Whitby, held in 664, to discuss the two Easters. They note with satisfaction that Colman, while he admitted that the keys of the kingdom were given to Peter, yet refused to abandon the paschal rule of his fathers, gave up the bishopric of Lindisfarne, and returned to Iona with some, not all, of his monks.

The reluctance of "the Celtic Church" to fall into line with the rest of Christendom, both in the East and West in regard to the nineteen years' cycle for Easter, is a fact that remains to be accounted for. The explanation seized on by outside writers is, in the words of Grub (p. 152): "The Columbites undoubtedly looked on the Pope as superior in dignity to their primatial abbot (at Iona), and acknowledged his see to be the principal church in Christendom; but their whole history, more especially the Easter controversy, shows that in their belief he had no authority over them." There is no such thing extant as a "whole history of the Columbites" as there is of the Anglo-Saxon Church by Bede; but enough is known of their history to exclude this solution. As Skene says (II. ch.iii.), "the Columban Church must be viewed as in reality a mission from the Irish Church, and as forming an integral part of that Church, with which it never lost its

connection." And what was the belief of the Irish Church as to the authority of the Pope needs no other testimony than that of St Columbanus, given in 612, *ex. gr.* "the prelates over all the faithful": "no heretic . . . no schismatic was ever among us, but the Catholic Faith as it was delivered by you is held by us unchanged"; "great is your honour from the dignity of the chair . . . there is no one who does not know that our Saviour gave to St Peter the keys of the kingdom of heaven . . . the unity of faith in the whole world made (necessary) the unity of power and prerogative." If words mean anything, this is a profession of faith that "all we Irish living at the far ends of the earth" are under your authority, in which is "the unity of power and prerogative" to preserve us all from heresy and schism. What he said in words he taught by example: he begged Boniface IV. for "the solace of thy sentence . . . to have thy decision . . . the weight of thy authority." St Colman made the same profession of faith at Whitby, though he did not submit to the authority of the council of Whitby, which is another matter. Meantime it is enough to quote the words of Macewen (I., p. 89): "Although these differences were real and manifest, they did not go deep. They had none of the sharpness of schism or even of dissent . . . between the beliefs of the two Churches there was not vital difference." But for our present purpose there is even a more telling witness than St Columbanus himself, viz., St Wilfrid of York. Macewen, referring to Bede

(*Eccl. Hist.*, V. 19), states that "as late as 680, when strife had arisen, one of their bitterest foes (Wilfrid) declared on oath at Rome that "the true and Catholic Faith was held in every part of Britain and Ireland and in the islands inhabited by Angles, Britons, Scots and Picts." It has to be kept in mind that the Picts did not adopt the nineteen years' cycle for Easter till later, in 710, and Iona not till 716. And there can be no doubt that to the mind of Wilfrid the corner-stone of "the true and Catholic Faith" was the authoritative supremacy over the whole Church of Christ vested in the successor of Peter, to whom were given the keys of the kingdom. He was the last man in the world to have borne such a testimony to the orthodoxy of "the Columbites," if their belief was that "the Pope had no authority over them." The position taken up by them in 664 was precisely the same as that of St Columbanus in 612. This is clear from the whole history of the controversy as given to us by Bede. Apart altogether from the positive testimonies of SS. Columbanus and Wilfrid, it is beyond the bounds of credibility that "the Roman party" should have fastened on a trifling matter of discipline like the form of tonsure, and on the rule for Easter, about which there had been great latitude in the past, as the whole matter in dispute, if "the Columbites" were not like themselves in actual subjection to the Holy See. This is the argument from silence; and Macewen makes a feeble effort at retort. The church of Columba, he says, had no connection with Rome;

for Rome is not mentioned by Adamnan, and Bede is silent as to any Roman influence: but if there had been the connection with Rome, Adamnan would have mentioned Rome, and Bede would not have been silent: hence, he concludes, "the argument from silence is valid." But from the nature of his subject Adamnan has no necessity requiring him to mention Rome; though as a matter of fact he goes out of his way to mention Rome. At the end of the *Life of St Columba*, he says that the fame of the saint had reached "even the city of Rome itself, which is the head of all cities." In his time Rome in a political sense was a provincial town, but it was in the words of St Columbanus "more noble and illustrious on account of the dignity of that chair" than in the days of its secular power. As to Bede, for that matter of it, he does not even mention St Patrick's name, and St Columba's only incidentally. He was under no necessity requiring him to give the history of "the Columbites" in full; he only brings them in so far as they come in contact with the Anglo-Saxon Church, which is his subject.

The explanation of the refusal of "the Columbites" at Whitby to fall into line with the rest of the Church by adopting the nineteen years' cycle is not that they disowned obedience to the Pope, but that they considered that in the matter there was no disobedience to the Pope—which is a very different thing. They did not quarrel with the new Roman Easter, but wished to be left in peace to follow the old

Roman Easter which they had received from their fathers. As a matter of fact, they had so been left in peace in Northumbria itself for thirty years. They were not troubled on the subject by the Holy See itself any more than St Columbanus was. Outside writers talk loosely of "Rome"; but "Rome" in the case was a Wilfrid or a Ronan, himself an Irish monk, who were more Roman than the Pope himself. The Columban bishop and his monks knew this perfectly well; and Macewen is wrong in supposing that their attitude did not "rest on any principle." Their principle was that of prescription, as much as to say: We in perfect good faith have followed the old cycle of our fathers for at least two hundred years in Ireland, and for one hundred years in Britain, before you made any difficulty about it; we have prescribed against the law, if law there is. Colman at Whitby quite agreed with Wilfrid that the keys of the kingdom were given to St Peter; but he acted as he did because he considered this appeal to their common faith to be beside the mark. As in the case of Columbanus, he was not called on by the Pope himself to abandon his own Easter, which had been followed so long without any prejudice to the Catholic Faith. The Council of Whitby was not the authority of the Chair of Peter; yet he deferred to such authority as it legitimately possessed by withdrawing from the territory under its jurisdiction, since he could not accept its decision. Before starting for Iona he made the touching request, which was granted,

that Eata should be his successor in Lindisfarne ; Eata was one of the twelve Saxon boys whom St Aidan at the beginning of the Iona Mission had taken into his monastery for instruction. If these outside writers only searched the history of the Catholic Church, they would find similar cases without any denial of the papal authority. To take one instance, St Gregory VII., the redoubtable Hildebrand, called on the Milanese to adopt the Roman instead of the Ambrosian rite for the celebration of Mass, but in vain ; several other attempts were made in succeeding centuries, but the Milanese adhered to their beloved liturgy. At last it got full recognition when the Council of Trent ruled that local usages which could show a prescription of at least two centuries could be retained. There was no stronger upholder of the Ambrosian rite than St Charles Borromeo, who peremptorily disallowed a governor of Milan to have the Roman rite in the church where he heard Mass, and that too though the Pope was willing to allow it. Yet no one could say that St Charles Borromeo considered that " the Pope had no authority " over him and his diocese of Milan. Nor did the Milanese all the time ever consider that they were not under that authority. But, at any rate in the beginning, they disobeyed it, which " the Columbites " never did.

In the foregoing pages there is no attempt at giving the full weight of the overwhelming evidence for the belief of the early ages in the supremacy of power and jurisdiction vested in

the Bishop of Rome as the successor of St Peter. But enough has been given to show what was the faith of the "Celtic Church" in the matter. It drew its origin from Rome, and never drifted apart from Rome. To Columba, as to Columbanus, the idea would have been simply preposterous that the unity of the one Church of Christ is but an abstraction, or only the "common multiple," of independent local churches.

CHAPTER II

THE CHRISTIANITY OF IONA

Scotsmen generally in their own way revere the memory of St Columkille. In a recent public address it was even said that "he was perhaps God's greatest gift to this nation." What appeals to them is the missionary who by the conversion of the northern Picts completed the conversion of the country to Christianity. Iona was "a centre of light and leading, resembling somewhat modern missionary enterprises such as Blantyre and Kikuyu in Africa." But the resemblance is a very slender somewhat. The whole moral atmosphere of Iona breathed in the pages of Adamnan is a puzzle to all outside writers. The manner of life is strange and even repellent to them; and the mentality of these old monks, as something altogether outside their own experience, is beyond them to appreciate, or even to realize. They feel, as Dowden confesses, that they "live in a world of religious thought very different from that of St Columba." Yet they ought to know that this very world of religious thought has continued, to the present day, where it has the right to be found.

The following, among others, have been consulted: —

Reeves' Edition of Adamnan's *Life of St Columba.*
Macewen, *A History of the Church in Scotland* (1912), Vol. I.
Dowden, *The Celtic Church in Scotland.*
Grub, *An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland,* Vol. I.
Skinner, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland,* Vol I.
Skene, *Celtic Scotland* (1887), Vol. II.
Mackinnon, *Culture in Early Scotland.*

The principal authority for our knowledge of Iona is of course Adamnan's *Life of St Columba,* as he himself calls it. But in reality it is not a life in the modern acceptation of the term ; it is only a record of the miraculous events in the saint's life. Apart from St Columba's parentage, his age when he set out for Iona, and his death, no facts of his career are brought in except with reference to some prediction, miracle or apparition. The same consideration applies to the doctrine and discipline of Iona ; there are, from the nature of the case, only incidental allusions as required or occasioned by the restricted purpose of the book. Hence the important inference has to be drawn that, though these incidental allusions are frequent, Adamnan by no means records fully what were the beliefs and practices of Iona, any more than he gives the full history of St Columba's life. In order to supplement our information Bede is available to a certain extent, but the chief source is to be found in extant documents of the early Irish church. As Skene observes : " The Columban church must be viewed as in reality a mission from the Irish church, and as forming an integral part of that church, with

which it never lost its connection"; and Macewen: "The Christianity which converted, civilised, and indeed created Scotland, was cradled and matured in Ireland."

I

The very idea of the monastic life was at one time so repellent to outsiders of all schools that Skinner (Vol I. p. 150) did his best to prove that St Columba was no monk. According to him Iona monastery, "as it is called, was of no order, and astricted to no rule that we know of; it was a society of clergy." However, after the *Life* by Adamnan became more widely known through the labours of Reeves and others, this line of argument had to be abandoned; it was only too evident that the community at Iona led the monastic life, vow and all. They called themselves by no special name so as to be "an order," but for the matter of that monks nowhere then went by distinctive appellations. Their rule was the unwritten tradition of all the monks in the west before the time of St Benedict. While the painful fact has to be admitted, some consolation is found in the fond belief that the Iona monks were not like other monks; there was "no medieval asceticism." However, Adamnan tells us that St Columba used a bare stone for his pillow, and that "so incessantly was he engaged night and day in the unwearied exercise of fasting and watching, that the burden of each of these

austerities would seem beyond the power of human endurance." Mackinnon calls it "mistaken, but adamantine piety." St Cuthbert was trained in the asceticism of the Iona school; yet the same writer says that "it sank to the level of a degrading and disgusting materialism." Reading the lives of the old Irish saints, there is little to choose between "Celtic" and "medieval" asceticism, except possibly that the "Celtic" went beyond all bounds. Another supposed difference is that the Iona monks had the distinction of being missionaries. But this again is talking at random; St Augustine of Canterbury and his companions were Benedictine monks, so also later were St Boniface and others in converting northern Germany.

Monasticism is a plant that needs a congenial soil. For three centuries in this island outside the Church it was anathema; but latterly some good souls, groping their way out of the dark, have taken kindly to it. In Scotland so far there have been no communities of men, though some feeble attempts have been made at Sisterhoods professing the religious life. It has fared better in England, but even there it inevitably points to Rome. Some years ago the community of Caldey Island came over in a body; it was the law of gravitation to their true home. To the Catholic mind the life led at Iona is an obvious carrying out of Our Lord's counsels of perfection. It is our glory to have multitudes of men treading the path St Columba trod, not only as monks, but as Religious of various "orders astricted to divers

rules" ; while the name of Catholic Sisterhoods is legion.

II

The pages of Adamnan envelope the person of St Columba in a dense atmosphere of the supernatural. The book, as has been said, is not so much a biography as a record of wonders under three heads—the prophecies, the miracles, and the angelic apparitions ; and in the preface care is taken to tell the reader that, not to tire his patience, only a few out of the many are given. It is remarkable what a source of bewilderment this is to outside writers of every school. One need not wonder at Macewen, who may be taken as fairly representative of the Presbyterian attitude : " It would be grossly unhistorical, however, to suggest that Scotland in those times was ruled by a pure and gracious faith. . . . Even the pious and learned Adamnan presents Columba primarily as a soothsayer and worker of miracles " (I. p. 146). But it is surprising to find similar statements coming from writers who have in their own way a regard for the ancient Fathers. Dowden may be taken as a fair specimen : " There is no escaping the conclusion that the Fathers of the Celtic church were themselves unhesitating believers in what would in our time be regarded as puerile superstitions " (p. 101). He knows that he is up against a difficult position : " Adamnan abounds from beginning to end with stories

of the miraculous : many of them are intractable by any fair process, and must either be accepted as they stand, or else be set down as pure inventions, or at all events inventions with only the smallest grain of truth." If it had been a nameless scribe, or an author less known than Adamnan, he would have summarily dismissed, without comment, the whole narrative as a deliberate concoction of lies. But Adamnan is the Bede of Scotland ; he was a man of high intellectual ability ; the *Life of St Columba* undoubtedly came from his pen ; on his own express statement he drew his information from men who had lived with the saint, as well as from a document written by Cummene, his predecessor in the abbacy, who entered Iona when most of the community who saw the saint die were still alive ; and otherwise he continually vouches for the facts written down. The difficulty is to get out of the dilemma that Adamnan was either a knave or a fool. Dowden hastens to acquit him of being a knave : " I am satisfied that Adamnan was not himself a deliberate inventor of fictions." But " he was naturally on the look-out for miracles . . . a great body of baseless superstitions may be held compatibly with a large measure of Divine truth, with the most sincere piety, and with high intellectual ability and acumen." This means that Adamnan, while not exactly a fool, would have been better advised if he had given us a record of St Columba's life altogether " free from vulgar marvels." But, as a matter of fact, he has given us practically nothing else ; if these

" vulgar marvels " never happened as he relates them, he can hardly get out of being a fool, unless indeed he were a knave. However, St Adamnan has sinned in good company. The Venerable Bede wrote a *Life of St Cuthbert*, of which Mackinnon says: " The credulity which saturates his pages, while it unfits him for the role of philosopher, adds to the flow and the naïve charms of the narrative of the historian." But the great St Augustine was a philosopher, if ever there was one, and in his philosophical work, *The City of God*, he devotes the long eighth chapter of the twenty-fourth book to retailing a number of " vulgar marvels."

The present purpose is solely to emphasize how utterly alien and repugnant to outsiders in this country is the mentality of Iona. There may possibly be here and there among them some good souls who hold that " the age of miracles is not past " ; but taking them in the mass, and as forming various denominations, miracle is simply beyond them, and its occurrence therefore unthinkable. On the contrary, to those old monks, as Mackinnon justly observes, " miracles came as naturally as the air that men breathed." And so they do still in the Church of Christ, where the faithful, like Adamnan, are " naturally on the look-out for miracles." As Cardinal Newman put it, " the Catholic Church, from east to west, from north to south is, according to our conceptions, hung with miracles." The *Lives of the Saints* ancient, medieval and modern, are replete with the same wonders as Adamnan records of St

Columba—the same frequent predictions and reading of hearts, the same frequent apparitions.

III

Bede records (III. 4) that "it has been the custom in that island (*i.e.* Iona) to have always for ruler an abbot-priest, to whose jurisdiction both the whole province and even the bishops themselves, in a way that is unusual, have to be subject." This passage has been a bone of contention between Episcopalians and Presbyterians for their respective forms of the ministry. Bede makes matters worse by a chance remark in connection with the mission of St Aidan to Northumbria: he says that "the Elders decided that he was worthy of the bishopric . . . and so they (*i.e.* the Elders) ordained him and sent him to preach." Dowden sweats over his reply to the trifling argument drawn that presbyters in Iona even ordained bishops, and hence all were on a presbyterial parity: "The Roman missionaries were ready to dwell on differences, even mere ritual differences, between the British and Scottish churches on the one hand and their own on the other; but no complaint was ever made that the churches of our islands had ventured on such a departure from the universal practice of Christendom as to allow presbyters to ordain a bishop." True enough; but, incidentally, the Roman missionaries would have been equally, if not more, ready to dwell on a still greater

difference from Rome, if it had existed, instead of wasting their time on "a mere ritual difference." To return, it is clear from Adamnan that even when a priest was to be ordained, a bishop had to be called in; and that a bishop was considered to be in order above a simple presbyter, as St Columba said to Cronan: "I know now that thou art a bishop; why hast thou disguised thyself so long, and prevented our giving thee the honour we owe to thee?" On the other hand it is no use citing the case of the retired colonial bishop becoming a member of an Anglican chapter; not to dwell on other differences, the dean of an Anglican chapter has no jurisdiction over a whole province, nor can he command the services of the retired colonial bishop as a bishop: that is the point of Bede's remark. The fact is that St Columba himself was rather autocratic, which led honest Skinner to exclaim (I. p. 100): "His abbatical prelacy was an encroachment on the privileges of his brethren presbyters, which affects the defenders of ministerial parity as much as it does the retainers of diocesan prelacy."

The sign-post again points to Rome. It is only in the Church that such anomalies are possible in view of exceptional circumstances. Bede only calls the Iona system unusual; he does not say that even in his own time it existed nowhere else. In 628, fifteen years after the death of St Columbanus, his successor, St Bertulf, went on a pilgrimage to Rome, when Pope Honorius I. exempted Bobbio and its territory from episcopal jurisdiction, thus giving it the status of Iona.

These outside writers themselves refer to the case of Fulda in Germany. Up till the year 1752, when Benedict XIV. erected it into a bishopric, the abbot of this monastery had exclusive jurisdiction over a large territory. Not he necessarily, but one of his monks, was a bishop for episcopal functions; and the bishop was subject to the rule of the abbot, not merely in monastic discipline, but also in the government of the clergy and people. There is a present-day case which in a remarkable way recalls that of Iona in every detail. The abbacy of New Norcia, in Western Australia, has a territory of over 30,000 square miles, nearly as large as Ireland. This territory is altogether outside, and does not belong to any diocese; it is abbatial territory, over which the abbot has exclusive rule. The purpose of its erection is the conversion of the Australian aborigines. The abbot, Torres, for eight years, from 1902 till 1910, exercised his jurisdiction as a simple priest. In the latter year he was himself made bishop; but the bishop might as easily have been another monk solely for the purposes of ordination and episcopal liturgical functions. And even so, he ruled over that vast territory not as bishop, but as abbot. The present abbot is a simple priest. Macewen admits that "the Columban church had no resemblance to the Episcopal or to the Presbyterian organisation of modern times . . . the unit of church life was the settlement." Just so; but like the Benedictine settlement of New Norcia.

IV

Outside writers would have it that the "Celtic" church was "of strictly native growth." The wonder then is that it should not have had a liturgy in the language "understood of the people"; not that it would matter much, even if it had, when we remember that SS. Cyril and Methodius, both of the Eastern church, with the full approval of Rome gave the Slav peoples, so much in evidence at the present day, a liturgy in their own tongue. Macewen remarks helplessly: "Patrick is credited with having made Latin the church language of Ireland. The crudity of his own Latin makes this very doubtful." It has to be admitted that St Patrick's Latin is not of the best, and contains expressions "that would have made Quintilian stare and gasp." But how this makes the matter doubtful it is hard to see. Anyhow all the liturgical books of the Irish church that have come down to us show a close connection with the Church in Gaul (France), and of course are in Latin. Among them are the Bobbio Missal and the Bangor Antiphonary of the seventh century, within a hundred years of the death of St Columba, and the Stowe Missal of the eighth century. The Book of Deer, written in a Columban monastery, shows the same for Scotland. As to Holy Scripture, St Columba was assiduous in transcribing, with his own hand, copies, especially of the Gospels and of the Psalms; so

also was his successor, Baithene, and many of the other monks. No ornamentation was too much or binding too costly for the written Word of God, out of the same reverence on account of which at High Mass the deacon thurifies and the priest kisses devoutly the Book of the Gospels. Yet all the copies that have come down to us are invariably in the Latin language. It is to be feared that not every Pictish gentleman had on his table a copy of the New Testament in the vulgar tongue. Nor would that have been possible even if every available monk had been transcribing night and day for the term of his natural life. The days of printing were yet a long way off, and St Columba had to convert the Picts as best he could; after all, the apostles of Our Lord to a great extent laboured under the same disadvantage. No doubt in both cases the people heard the very words of the Bible in their own tongue, and remembered them; they had good memories in those days.

Macewen, therefore, only talks at random when he contrasts Iona with the "Latinized" church in England. He and others speak of the "Celtic" church as if the epithet Celtic were brimful of special meaning. The church of Ireland and Iona was Celtic because the people happened to be Celts, just as the church of England was "Anglo-Saxon" because the people there were Anglo-Saxons. The Celtic church was every whit as "Latinized" as the Anglo-Saxon church, and probably far more so. As Mackinnon says (p. 167): "Columbanus and his companions spoke Latin

fluently, as the clerical language of the west." The storm-tossed Gaulish bishop from the Holy Land, Arculf, found himself quite at home in Iona, and gave Adamnan the material for his work on *The Holy Places*, which, like his *Life of St Columba*, was written in the language of Rome. Neither Ireland nor Iona was ever under the yoke of the Cæsars as part of the Roman Empire; but they owed their church language, as they owed their faith, to being part of the wider spiritual dominion of the Bishop who sat in the Chair of Peter.

V

The pages of Adamnan breathe the same atmosphere in which Irish Catholics live and move at the present day. For the present purpose there is no need to recount every detail; it will be enough to refer to one or two particulars which are glaringly "Roman."

1. There is the same frequent use of the sign of the Cross, the same belief in the efficacy of things blessed by the priest or by someone of recognized holiness of life. The Iona monks made the sign of the Cross over tools before using them; St Columba blessed holy wells to heal the sick, and everyone knows about the white pebble which could not be found on the night King Brude died. One day the saint gave his benediction to a knife, with the prediction that it would never do anyone injury; it was immediately smelted by the monks, and all dangerous weapons received a

coating of the material. Dowden would call all this "puerile superstition," and Mackinnon "gross materialism"; but after all Our Lord "made clay of the spittle," and told the blind man to "go and wash in the pool of Siloam." It is the Catholic practice of the Sacramentals, or objects consecrated by the prayer of the Church, to be found daily among us—such as, for example, holy water, for which there is a special form of blessing in the Bobbio Missal.

2. Adamnan relates (II. 45) how, during a drought, in order to obtain rain from God, the monks went in procession over the fields, carrying with them the tunic which St Columba wore at the hour of his death, and some books written with his own hand: "And thus the invocation of the very name of the blessed man obtained seasonable relief." The veneration of the relics of the saints was engrained in their minds. St Columbanus in one of his letters to Rome refers especially to the relics of SS. Peter and Paul as its peculiar privilege: "You are near the ashes of the Saints." So also does St Columba of Iona, in his poem on Aran, where so many holy men were interred: "To sleep in thy pure soil is as good as to be buried in the land of St Peter and St Paul." Zimmer is quoted as saying that "after the first union with Rome there was an unprecedented extension of the cult of relics." By "first union with Rome" he means the time when the Columban monks substituted the new Roman Easter for the old Roman Easter. However, long before that happened, Colman, departing from

Northumbria, took with him a portion of the relics of his predecessor, St Aidan, leaving the remainder enshrined at Lindisfarne. The cult of relics had no need to be extended. It was the tradition of Iona from the beginning that caused the veneration for the relics of St Columba himself. As Bede says: "It holds the principality, because he there rests in the body."

3. An ingenious writer remarks: "Neither St Columba nor St Kentigern ever give the slightest sanction whatever to the worship of the Virgin Mary, that odious Mariolatry which is so painful a feature of the modern Roman Church." Of course, by "Mariolatry" he means the great veneration which Catholics undoubtedly have for the Mother of God; but how does he know that neither St Columba nor St Kentigern gave the slightest sanction? He cannot show that they ever said anything to the purpose. Adamnan tells us only incidentally what is connected with the miracles of St Columba; the purpose of his book does not require that he should give a full "Profession of Faith" as held in Iona, and he takes for granted what was the universal belief of the Catholic Church. What this belief was both the Bobbio and the Stowe Missal show. In both we read: "Communicating with, and venerating in the first place, the glorious ever-Virgin Mary, the Mother of God." This is the essence of "Mariolatry." In the Book of Kells is to be seen the picture of the Blessed Virgin with the Divine Infant, just as in Catholic churches and homes at the present day.

The Leabhar Breac gives an accumulation of titles to "the Mother of God," such as "Queen of the angels," "Star of the sea," and "Gate of heaven." One has only to read the liturgies of the "modern" Greek Church, whether uniat or schismatic, to find the same "painful feature." Both East and West have the sanction of antiquity. For example, the sermons of two Eastern Fathers—of St Epiphanius of Constantinople "on the praises of Holy Mary, the Mother of God," and of St Sophronius of Jerusalem "on the Annunciation of the Mother of God"—contain invocations and expressions, compared with which our litany of the Blessed Virgin is bald and cold. These two Fathers were contemporaries of St Columba.

4. As the saying is, it is the Mass that matters. Adamnan refers to it in his usual incidental way as "the solemnities of Mass," "the sacred mysteries of the Eucharist," "the clean mysteries of the sacred oblation," "the sacrificial mystery," and "the consecration of the Body of Christ." Honest Grub admits (I. pp. 145-6) that "Columba and his disciples agreed with the rest of Western Christendom in every essential point of belief regarding the sacraments and other rites of the Church . . . with forms similar to those which were used in Italy and Gaul" . . . "the sacrificial character was distinctly recognized, and it was believed that after the consecration the bread became the Body of Christ." This is Transubstantiation, not indeed the formidable word, but the thing meant by it. But, unlike Grub, Dowden

will not hear of it; the Iona monks held the faith of their time, and there is "no mention of Transubstantiation anywhere in the sixth century" (p. 218). It cannot be supposed for a moment that he is equivocating about the word, while the whole question is about the thing meant by the word. If the Iona monks held the faith of their time, let us see what the faith of that time was, both in the East and in the West. To begin with the West, St Isidore of Seville and St Gregory the Great, both belong to the sixth century. The former (*Tom.* VII. p. 316, *et seq.*, Areval Edition) says: "Before the consecration the substance of bread and wine is there; after the words of Christ are pronounced it is the Body and Blood of Christ. What need for wonder, if what He was able by a word to create He should be equally able by a word to convert?" The words of St Gregory, reported by Paul the Deacon in the *Life* (n. 18), are "By the same power by which he made all from nothing does He convert the bread and wine, their own appearance remaining, into His Flesh and Blood." Nor was the East silent. During the sixth century, and long before, in the liturgies of St Basil and St Chrysostom was read the solemn prayer to God the Father "that he may make the bread the precious Body of His Son, transmuting by His Holy Spirit." St Cyril of Jerusalem, who lived in the fourth century, in his celebrated *Catechisms* (IV. 9) instructed his people: "With full faith believe that what appears to be bread is no longer bread, though it may taste so, but the

Body of Christ; and what appears to be wine, though the taste would have it so, is no longer wine, but the Blood of Christ." But enough; the doctrine is very much older than the sixth century. No doubt the term Transubstantiation is a big word, and as a mere word is not quite so old; but it had the advantage, after heresy began to deny the old doctrine, of expressing that doctrine beyond the possibility of equivocation. When the Lutherans tried to fraternize in view of their " consubstantiation " with the schismatic Greek church, the reply came in the *Profession of Faith of the Oriental Church* (published at Leipsic in 1695): " The words being pronounced, the *metousiosis* immediately takes place, and the bread is transmuted into the true Body of Christ, and the wine into the true Blood, there remaining only the species which appear." They could read the old Fathers, and their *metousiosis* is just our Transubstantiation writ shorter.

VI

The Pope is in varying degrees the proverbial red rag to all outside writers. They would overlook everything that to their minds is most objectionable in Iona, if only for the one comfort that it had nothing to do with Rome. But it is a vain thought. St Columbanus of Bobbio, who was the disciple and was trained in the school of St Comgall, the intimate friend of St Columba

of Iona, expressed the common faith of all three in the memorable words: "We are bound to the Chair of Peter, for though Rome (otherwise) has a great renown, on account of that Chair alone is she to us great and renowned. . . . Rome is the head of the churches of the whole world." This gives sense to the words of Adamnan at the end of the *Life* that the fame of St Columba had reached "even to the city of Rome itself, which is the head of all cities;" by Adamnan's day the glory of imperial Rome was long departed. It need not be wondered at then, that in the Bobbio Missal, attributed by critics to the seventh century, that is, before Iona "conformed to Rome" in 714, is to be read the prayer, just as in our Missals to-day: "for N. our Pope, the Bishop of the Apostolic See." Not only that, but there is the Mass for feast of St Peter's Chair, the collect of which runs: "O God, Who this day didst give to Blessed Peter after Thyself the headship of Thy Church," etc. Even Skene employs the ambiguous and misleading phrase that Iona "did not conform to Rome till 714" by adopting the new Roman Easter instead of the old Roman Easter. To the average outside mind it naturally conveys the erroneous idea that till then Iona had differed in doctrine and worship from Rome, and only then recognised the authority of the Holy See. At the present day priests in Rome have the tonsure, priests in Scotland none; if, after long considerable reluctance to the wishes of some zealous local bishop, the Holy See itself looking complacently on,

Scottish priests were at last to adopt the practice, they would "conform to Rome" exactly in the same way: or as Macewen says very truly of the Columban monks, "it must not be supposed that there was any antagonism to Roman beliefs and usages." Usages, however, may differ; but the beliefs have been always the same. It is urged that there are no records to show actual communications with Rome; even if so, the absence of extant records would not prove that there were none. But records are not wanting. Segine, the fifth abbot of Iona, more than fifty years before Iona "conformed to Rome" in 714, is one of those addressed in an extant reply from Pope John IV.; he must have been one of those who consulted Rome. Their written lives show that no fewer than fifty-one saints of the Irish church, of which "the Columban church formed an integral part, and with which it never lost its connection," made the pilgrimage to Rome. And a venerable tradition has it that St Columba of Iona himself went thither. It is no use saying that Adamnan mentions no such thing; Adamnan does not even pretend to mention everything. The fact is, however, recorded in the life of the saint written in Irish, as well as incidentally in the life of St Mochonna. Curiously enough, there was an independent tradition in Rome itself, as it is recorded that in the days of the old basilica of St Peter the spot used to be pointed out where Gregory the Great and Columba first met. Outside writers, of course, reject such authorities; but it is not beyond suspicion that, if anything

disparaging to Rome had been attested, these very authorities would be hailed "as important sources for our clearer knowledge of the early Celtic church." It is undoubted that under different shapes the intercourse of these two saints appears with remarkable emphasis in the old Irish writers. St Gregory became Pope in 590, seven years before the death of St Columba. The cross, which is called the Great Gem of Columkille, was considered for ages to have been the present to him from that Pontiff; among other sources, this is expressly stated in the old preface to his hymn *Altus Prosator*, which was a return gift. Allowing for contradictions as to details among these old writers, they agree as to the central fact which bears on the present purpose. Mackinnon almost admits it (p. 173): "There was a lively interest in the monastery at Iona in the affairs of continental nations . . . the legends of Columba's visit to Pope Gregory, and of his pilgrimage to St Martin's shrine at Tours, although possessing no foundation in fact, may contain an echo of intercourse between Iona and Ireland on the one hand, and Gaul and Italy on the other, at this early time." But what evidence has he for the dogmatic assertion that the legends of the visit have no foundation in fact? No old writer tells him that St Columba, as a matter of fact, never visited Rome.

Outside writers view the whole subject in the light of two strange prepossessions. The first, as the result of their own hopeless divisions, is that

the one Church of Christ need not be visibly one. They make this mentality of theirs retrospective, as if it had been that of what they call "the Celtic" church. In point of fact, the church in Ireland was principally through St Patrick an extension of the church in Gaul, and the church in Iona and Pictland was an extension of the church in Ireland; and St Columbanus of Bobbio was the spokesman for all his countrymen: "Great is your honour from the dignity of the Chair: there is no one who does not know that Our Saviour gave to St Peter the keys of the kingdom of heaven: the unity of faith made (necessary) the unity of power and prerogative." But stranger still is the prepossession of these writers that, while to their mind the difference of contradictory beliefs on points which each sect considers to be essential to Christianity does not destroy the unity of the Church of Christ, yet the difference in some matters of mere discipline was enough to make what they call "the Columban church" a sort of "back-wash," cut off from visible unity with the rest of Christendom. Mere discipline has varied in the Catholic Church from age to age, and has varied and still varies at the same time in different countries. The very anomalies of Iona have been and are still seen elsewhere in her communion. These writers fasten on these anomalies of discipline, and pass by the kernel of the matter. They ignore the plain evidence on the face of history that the local church of Iona and Pictland was part of the Church that came down from the beginning,

as being in visible unity of the one same Faith, and of the one same worship in the adorable sacrifice of the Mass, with the rest of Christendom under "our Pope, the Bishop of the Apostolic See."

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH OF THE CULDEES

THE name of the Culdees used to be one to conjure with in Scotland; nothing was really known about them, and the axiom is that "every unknown looms large" with possibilities. It is remarkable how many theories were drawn on the imagination of different writers. On one point all were agreed that the Culdees "went back to the simplicity of Christ," and were in their day a living protest against "the formalism of belief and ceremony" which everywhere else swept over the Christianity of these islands. However, the researches of Reeves and Skene did much to dispel this notion that they were "primitive Christians of the Evangelical type." But one fixed idea is hard to remove; it is supposed to be one comfort that the Culdees had nothing to do with Rome, but lived their lives apart from all foreign associations in that spirit of independence which has ever been the characteristic of the Scottish soul. It will be seen, however, that they were only one of the many varied manifestations of the religious life which spontaneously appear in the Catholic Church, and that their very history witnesses to the See of Peter.

The following, among others, have been consulted :—

Contemporary Life of St Margaret, by Turgot.
Reeves, *The Culdees*.
Skene, *Celtic Scotland* (1887), Vol. II.
Grant, *The Culdees* (in the *Scottish Review*, April 1888).
Macewen, *A History of the Church in Scotland* (1912), Vol. I.
Dowden, *The Celtic Church in Scotland*.
Robertson, *Scotland under her early Kings*, Vol. I.
Hill Burton, *History of Scotland* (1876), Vol. I.

The principal sources of information are two extant Irish documents, the Rule of St Mochuda dating from the seventh century, and the Rule which in the eighth century St Maelruan drew up with the aid of the noted Angus, the Culdee. These are supplemented by the sparse notices in the Pictish and other chronicles. Indirectly, the *Life of St Margaret*, written by Turgot, her confessor, throws considerable light on the subject in the chapter which records the conferences held with the Culdean clergy on questions of discipline. Among modern writers Reeves and Skene are the chief authorities ; but the last word has been said by Bishop Colin C. Grant in his *Scottish Review* article.

I

The Culdees, like everything else that was good, came over to Scotland from Ireland. Their very name, as seen in all the old records written in Irish, attests their Gaelic, not Cymric origin ;

they were the Ceilean-De (also written Celean-De : Celtic *c* pronounced hard, like *k*) or the companions of God. It was the transference of a title applied in secular life to a class of men devoted to the service of God. In the old Irish MSS is found the appellation of Ceile-Flath, *i.e.* the companion or henchman of the chief or head in a tribe or family ; or sometimes it is attributed directly to the chief by name, as when Cuchullin is called Ceile or Cele-Conchobair, or the henchman of Conchobar. It was not till the eighth century that the Culdees or Celean-De appeared in Scotland, where, however, they took especial root, and gave in great measure a character to the whole church organisation. As far as the records show, while there were but nine Culdee centres in Ireland itself, there were as many as thirteen in Scotland ; there was one at York, and another at Bardsey in Wales. It is also noteworthy that in Scotland alone the equivalent name in Latin documents was completely faithful to the original Gaelic in the term Keledei ; even in Ireland, as at York, it became Colidei. The form " Culdees," now in common use, is quite modern, having taken its origin from the romantic historian, Hector Boece.

But the question is who and what were these Culdees. According to Reeves, Cele-De was only another name for monk, being the equivalent of the Latin *servus Dei*, *i.e.* servant of God. However, *servus Dei* need not necessarily mean a monk, and Skene points out that in the Latin documents Cele-De is never so translated, but

always either Keledeus or Colideus. His own contention is that the Culdees were hermits, who in Latin went by the name of Deicolæ, *i.e.* men wholly devoted to God. But Reeves could retort the argument, as in the Latin documents Cele-De is never translated as Deicola; and for the matter of that, Deicola is never the equivalent of hermit, but is applied to saintly men generally. What appears to be the origin of Skene's theory is the reference in the Scottish annals to the "Keledei hermits" of Lochleven. But from the very tautology implied it should have struck him that they were not hermits because they were Culdees, but were Culdees who in some way led the eremitical life. As far as we know their history, everywhere else they are found in close community life; and the case of Lochleven would seem to be only an apparent rather than a real exception to the rule. Here too was a body of men living together, but in the seclusion of a small island cutting them off from intercourse with all others. The records show that the Celean-De are all along carefully distinguished from monks on the one hand, and from hermits on the other. Thus at Clonmacnoise, and later at Iona, the Culdee community was quite a separate one from the monastic, with different superiors. Again, Angus, who wrote the *Felire* on the saints of Ireland, had been a hermit before he became a Culdee by entering into community life under St Maelruan.

The right course is to fall back on the old records, especially the *Rules* of Mochuda and Maelruan. From them it is clear that the Culdees

lived in communities, which were composed of laymen as well as of priests and other clerics. The head is called generally the Prior, at other times the Master, and only twice the Abbot, as it were by mistake. Conn-nam-Bocht (Conn of the Poor), who founded and acted as the first head of the community at Clonmacnoise, was a layman. There is no indication that anything like the monastic vows was taken ; but even the laymen, as soon as and so long as they were Culdees, had to live the celibate life. The sixteenth-century writer of the history of the *Foundation of the Church of St Andrews* quotes from earlier documents : " After they have become Keledei, it is not lawful for them to have their wives in their houses, nor even other women from whom might arise evil suspicion." The rule of celibacy for the Culdees is now admitted generally by outside writers. Macewen would wish to be an exception : at page 128 he says with decision, " Marriage was permitted to the Culdees." Of course, it was permitted to men, who had been married, to become Culdees ; but that is a different thing. Further on, at page 133 in a note, he is not so sure : " It is probable that the Culdees were allowed to marry, with restrictions." A layman, ceasing to be a Culdee, was allowed to marry ; but not, if he remained a Culdee. As far as can be gathered from the two *Rules* quoted, and from entries in other old records, the Culdees had a twofold purpose, one being the care of the poor and the sick, the other the celebration of the Divine Office in church. (1) Both the Books of

Leinster and Lismore refer to St Moling's vision, when he repulsed the devil, appearing to him as Our Lord arrayed in the splendour of kingly raiment, with the words: "When Christ comes to converse with the Ceilean-De, it is not in purple He comes, but in the form of the miserable, the sick and the leper." According to the Ulster Annals, "in 921 the Danes plundered Armagh, but spared the houses of prayer, with the Ceilean-De and the sick." The house founded in 1031 at Clonmacnoise made the name of Conn-nam-Bocht "renowned in Erin and Alba (Scotland)." At York the "Colidei," in the time of King Athelstane (936), "supported many poor" in their house dedicated to St Peter, which was afterwards favoured by the Norman kings under the new title of St Leonard. So also in Scotland, as Robertson says (I. page 333, note), "it is worthy of notice that a hospital is generally to be found where Culdees can be traced to have existed, and the hospital is generally dedicated to St Leonard." Even the Culdee hermits of Lochleven had their hospital of St Thomas at Portmoak. But what gives a seal to the evidence is that, when the Culdees were passing away, their very name had become a synonym for hospital, which in those days meant a refuge for the poor as well as for the sick; in 1211 the bishop of St Andrews issued a commission for the reformation and preservation of hospitals, "especially of the hospital or *Kildey* of Monymusk." (2) The other purpose of the Ceilean-De was constant attention to the Divine Office in the church or

oratory by the priests and other clerics of each community, and it would appear that they aimed at what was called the *Laus Perennis* (Perpetual Praise). According to the *Rule* of Mochuda: "we frequent the church at every canonical hour perpetually"; while in the *Rule* of Maelruan we read: "the Ceilean-De shall not sleep in their oratory. Two of them remain in the oratory till midnight, and the psalter all is sung by them; two others then officiate till Matins, etc." According to the records this was carried out at Armagh and Clones, and there is no reason to suppose that the case was different in the other houses. The central act of Divine worship was the Mass in the words of Mochuda: "the people in orders for prayer and the Mass rightly"; and such was their reverence for the sacred mysteries that, according to Maelruan, "the priest who defiles his grade, even though he does penance, shall not offer the sacrifice afterwards." It would appear that, while on all devolved the care of the poor and the sick, to the priests and other clerics also fell the duty of the choir.

The inference to be drawn from all that has been said is that the Culdees closely resembled the Hospitaller Orders, which elsewhere later sprang up in the Church. At the time when the Culdees made their first appearance in Ireland there flourished on the continent the Brethren of the Holy Ghost, devoted to the care of the poor and sick, and from this period dates the celebrated Hospital of Santo Spirito in Rome. However, the closest analogy is with the Hospitallers of

St John of Jerusalem. They too were a mixed community of priests with other clerics, and laymen whose duty it was to take care of the poor and sick pilgrims to the Holy Land, the clergy also attending to the Divine Office in choir. The lay members at first were wholly engaged in hospitality to the poor and in nursing the sick, but in course of time were divided into two classes, the Brothers Attendant, and the Brothers Militant who bore arms for the defence of the pilgrims on their journey to and fro. These latter in the end, who became the Knights Hospitaller of St John, as far as renown in this world goes, wholly eclipsed the patient work of the others, whether cleric or lay. A development in a different way happened in the case of the Culdees of Scotland. While the care of the poor and sick was continued, the clergy of the Culdee houses came to have a predominant influence in the affairs of the church in this country. In Ireland and at York they retained their original subordinate position; but in Scotland they fell heirs to the ascendancy that had departed from the Columban monks. Iona had been repeatedly ravaged by the Danes, and the community of the Mother House had dwindled away. Nearly all the Columban foundations on the mainland had fallen into lay hands as secular possessions, the holders retaining the old designation of abbot. Thus "the gracious Duncan," the father of Malcolm Canmore, was the son of Crinan, the lay-abbot of Dunkeld, succeeding to the throne by the female line. On the other hand the Culdee houses flourished, and the Culdees

became the religious leaders of the nation. From their body came the bishops who ruled the Church. To their houses went all who wished more closely to serve God. Kings themselves were enrolled in their number: among others, "the grey-haired warrior," Constantine III., retired in 940 to their house in St Andrews. The 300 years dating from 750 may be called the Culdee period of the Church in Scotland.

II

It was this "Culdean Church" that confronted St Margaret, when she came from England in 1067 to become the queen of Malcolm Canmore. It is true that her zeal found something amiss, but it was not in points of faith, nor for the matter of that in morals. Turgot in the *Life* gives an account of the conference which she held with the representatives of the national church for the purpose of conformity in discipline. Her opening words are noteworthy: "premising that all who serve one God in one faith along with the Catholic Church ought not to vary from that Church by new or far-fetched usages." St Margaret was no antiquarian; the usages were not new, nor were they far-fetched, except in the sense that they had been taken from Rome in days long before. But they were out of keeping by her day with the discipline of the Church generally observed elsewhere. Turgot records five points of divergence, which no doubt give the worst that could be said of the "Culdean Church."

(1) The holy queen asked them why they did not begin the fast of Lent on Ash Wednesday, and not till the following Monday; she pointed out that this meant but thirty-six days, whereas Our Lord fasted forty days to give us the example. It is now well known that the Culdees only followed what had once been the practice in Rome itself. The anticipation of Lent by four days from Ash Wednesday was in course of time, without any legislation of the Holy See, adopted gradually in the Church; nor was it adopted universally, as at Milan in Italy itself they still adhere to the primitive arrangement of only thirty-six days. (2) Again, she asked them to explain "why they refrained from partaking of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ on Easter Day." Their reply was an appeal to the words of St Paul about the unworthy partaker. It can hardly be supposed that there was a universal abstention from Communion; but probably there existed some stern discipline debarring public sinners from the holy table till many years of penance had been fulfilled. This too was the earlier practice of the whole Church, as the old Penitential Codes testify. St Margaret wished to bring in the milder discipline which now obtained elsewhere: "He indeed who, without confession and penitence, with the stains of his trespasses, presumes to approach these sacred mysteries, he, I say, drinketh judgment unto himself; but we who, having many days beforehand made confession of our sins, are chastened with penance, worn with fasts, and washed from

the stains of our sins, with alms and tears, on the day of Our Lord's Resurrection approaching His table to partake of the flesh and blood of the Immaculate Lamb Jesus Christ, drink not to judgment, but to the remission of our sins." (3) It would appear that on Sunday work was done as on other days, since one of the holy queen's exhortations was: "Let us keep the Lord's Day in reverence on account of the resurrection of Our Lord on that day." But here again the Culdees only followed the freedom of the older discipline. The rule for abstention from servile work on Sunday was very indefinite for many centuries. In the time of the Emperor Constantine the Great labour on the fields, the most servile of all, was expressly allowed. In 538 the Council of Orleans reprobated the attempt to introduce this Sunday observance as Jewish, and not Christian. From the eighth century, for the reason given by St Margaret, it was gradually adopted at different times in various parts of the Church. It is evident from the Anglo-Saxon legislation that it had become the law in England. What St Margaret wanted was that the Culdees, who "served one God in one faith along with the Catholic Church, ought not to vary from that Church" in a matter of discipline now elsewhere followed. One cannot help wondering at the observation of Skene, usually so sane, that "there was no want of veneration for the Sunday, though they held that Saturday was properly the Sabbath on which they abstained from work; they seem to have followed a custom, traces of which may

be found in the Irish monastic church." These traces of his are but two. The first is the saying in the Brehon Laws: "Every seventh day to the Lord"; but that does not necessarily mean more than that out of every seven days one is to be dedicated to God. The other trace he finds in the words of St Columba: "This day in the Holy Scriptures is called the Sabbath, which means rest. And this day is indeed a Sabbath to me, for it is the last day of my present laborious life, and on it I rest after the fatigues of my labours; and this night at midnight, which commenceth the solemn Lord's Day, I shall, according to the saying of Scripture, go the way of our fathers." This is a frail foundation for making out that the Culdees were strict Sabbatarians; and the mystery is how it escaped the attention of St Margaret. As Dowden, a far lesser light, truly says, "Skene's notion that Saturday was observed as a day of rest seems wholly without foundation." (4) It is a pity that Turgot was not able to explain more fully the next point, when he says that "there were certain of the Scots, who in different parts of the country were wont to celebrate Masses in I know not what barbarous rite, contrary to the custom of the whole Church." That this barbarity lay in saying Mass in the national dress, or in the national tongue, may be dismissed at once as altogether untenable; it would have been too notorious to have escaped the knowledge or memory of Turgot. Even Macewen (I. p. 138) allows this: "the Culdees came to have a rite of their own . . . yet

the divergences were not radical. The resemblance to the Latin ritual was so close that the Scottish ritual was in use at York at the beginning of the ninth century. . . . Generally, the celebration was conducted with scrupulous care and with a reverence passing into awe. The worship rendered in these lowly sanctuaries was the same in scope and tone as found in the noble churches of Constantinople, Rome and Canterbury." Dowden makes a happy guess, but after all it is only a guess, that the " barbarous rite " was the lingering in the Culdee church of a usage found in the old Western liturgies, which prescribed the division of the Sacred Host into a set number of particles varying with the feast celebrated. Thus in the more ancient Celtic and Mozarabic rites the division was into seven particles for confessors, into eight for martyrs, into eleven for apostles, and into no less than sixty-five on the feasts of Easter, Pentecost and Christmas. In the last case the particles were to be arranged in the form of a cross within a circle. By the time of St Margaret this custom had long been abrogated generally elsewhere. (5) The last point on which she is recorded as remonstrating with the members of the conference was their allowing a man to marry his stepmother, or, again, his deceased brother's widow. It may be thought that here at any rate there could be no excuse for the Culdees ; but still something can be said for them. The Church at first seems to have followed the prescriptions of the Roman Law, in which affinity was only in the direct line a bar to marriage. It

is true that later the Christian emperors extended the impediment to the first degree of the collateral line. But the Church legislation in this respect only advanced slowly, and it was not till the eleventh century that it reached its full development. Even in the strict Mosaic law, according to the prescription of Levirate, in certain cases, marriage with a deceased husband's brother was not only allowed, but commanded. Marriage with one's stepmother is not so easily excused; but there may have been special reasons in the social life of the Scoto-Pictish people which rendered such unions at least occasionally desirable. When all is told, it was only a matter of ecclesiastical discipline.

The impression which is borne irresistibly on the mind is that the "Culdean Church" was Catholic to the core, or as Dowden says (p. 206): "there is not the smallest shred of evidence that the Culdees differed from the rest of Christendom at the period either in regard to faith or in their view of church government." Still more wonderful is the admission of Macewen (p. 126): "In view of such facts the natural conclusion is that the Culdees were identified with, not dissenters from, the main development of Christianity." And this too in spite of the differences pointed out by St Margaret. But it is no paradox to say that the very differences bring out the identity in all that mattered. In those days, variations in discipline came in gradually, without any direct interference of the Holy See, more rapid in one part of the Church, only adopted

later in another. The Celtic peoples generally were intensely conservative of old ways, and retained the discipline of the earlier centuries. It may be allowed that they were conservative to a fault, as when St Gall would have nothing to do with silver and gold for the sacred vessels because his master St Comgall of Bangor was content with bronze. Yet outsiders forget that this conservatism more forcibly still regarded "the faith once delivered to the saints," as exemplified in the extant letters of St Columbanus. The "Culdean Church" lived in the tradition of which these letters are the written expression. At the exhortation of St Margaret the Culdees, "serving one God in one faith along with the Catholic Church," fell into line with the development of discipline which had taken place generally elsewhere. In the Church of Christ the Faith always remains the same, but mere discipline may vary.

III

It is usual for outside writers to refer glibly to the "Celtic Church" as ending at the period of St Margaret and her sons to give place to the the "Roman Catholic Church" in Scotland. They cannot, or will not, get rid of the obsession that it was only then that "Rome" was recognised. What strikes them is the great change in the mere accidentals of discipline and ecclesiastical life. An equally great revolution took

place simultaneously in the civil life of the country without in any way affecting the recognition of the king. They cannot see, or ignore, the patent fact that St Margaret did not look on the Culdees as aliens to her communion, but as with her "serving one God in one faith along with the Catholic Church," of which she held the successor of St Peter to be the visible head on earth. Macewen (p. 159) has a glimmering of this, when he makes the futile remark: "the words Rome, Pope, Archbishop, Bishop, do not occur." They do not occur for the good reason that there was no dispute about them, as everybody held them. He himself admits (p. 135) that "the existence in that age of bishops other than the bishop of the nation is now admitted by all historians"; and the Culdee Fothad was bishop of the nation at the very time of the conference. The non-occurrence of the names, instead of proving rejection, supposes recognition.

It is remarkable how striking otherwise are the indications of this Catholic attitude to be found in the scanty annals which have come down to us. Three will be enough: (1) Turgot does not mention the old bone of contention regarding the rule of Easter; the reason is that the church in Scotland had three centuries before, to use the well-known expression of outsiders, "conformed to Rome." The whole incident is given in the graphic pages of Bede (H.E., V. 18 and 21). The abbot, Ceolfrid, advised Nectan, king of the Picts in 710, "to observe those things which tend to cement and confirm the unity of the Catholic

Church" by bringing in "what was wanting among them (the Picts) in the perfection of the way of living, that is, of the canonical discipline." Nectan replied that "he and his people would always follow the custom of the holy Roman and Apostolic Church." It was merely a matter of discipline; but, as usual, outside writers take refuge in the equivocal phrase that he "conformed to Rome." Of course, he conformed to Rome, but only in the sense that present-day Catholics of Scotland would conform to Rome by observing abstinence on all Ember Saturdays of the year, instead of only on one. Macewen (pp. 106-7) can only say very helplessly: "Whatever were the influences that led Nectan to adopt the Roman Easter, this implied no abatement of his independence, nor any recognition of the Northumbrian abbot to whom he appealed for advice." The king had no need to become one of Ceolfrid's monks to recognise him as his superior; nor was there any abatement of his independence for the very good reason that he had never considered himself independent of "the holy Roman and Apostolic Church." Some fifty years later Angus, another Pictish king, brought the relics of St Andrew into Scotland. Macewen now catches at a straw (pp. 123-4): "The practical severance of Scotland from Roman authority is symbolized by the fact that St Andrew was now the acknowledged patron of the Scottish Church." He might as well say that St Wilfrid of York, the redoubtable champion of Roman ways, "practically severed" Hexham from Roman authority,

when he brought there the relics of St Andrew, and dedicated the church and monastery to that saint. King Angus could well be devout to St Andrew without being disloyal to St Peter; and, as a matter of fact, the former did not become the acknowledged patron of the Scottish Church till centuries afterwards, when the Picts and their kingdom were but a memory. (2) Another indication is the record that in the tenth century the Culdee bishop, Cellach, made the pilgrimage to Rome, and no less a personage than the celebrated Macbeth in 1050. Macewen's comment on this is curious (p. 123): "In Scotland, as in other distant parts of Christendom, Rome was regarded as possessing special access to the throne of grace, and a penitent might betake himself to her sacraments and ceremonies without disloyalty to the church of his own land." But he does not explain why Rome should have been regarded in such a way by the Scoto-Picts. He ought to know that a friendly interchange of pulpits among jarring sects was a thing unknown in those days, and that communion in sacraments and ceremonies meant communion in unity of the same faith. Pilgrimage to Rome everywhere in that age meant devotion to the See of Peter. (3) The third indication is to be found in an extant Culdee litany of the Saints. Among those whose intercession with God is invoked are two Popes of Rome: St Victor, who, at the end of the second century according to tradition, sent missionaries to convert the Picts, and St Celestine, who in the fifth sent St Palladius as well as St Patrick. The

historical accuracy of the tradition so far as it regards Scotland is not the question here. The point is that the Culdees held it, and asked the intercession of St Victor, who in deference to the earnest request of St Irenæus of Lyons refrained from excommunicating churches in Asia Minor, and that of St Celestine, who commissioned St Cyril of Alexandria to preside in his name in the Council of Ephesus, at which Nestorius was condemned for denying that the Blessed Virgin Mary is the Mother of God.

Further, it is a significant fact that the Culdees continued, as a matter of course, to form an integral element of the church life in what outside writers are pleased to call distinctively "the Roman Catholic period." Their houses remained on at Muthill till 1214, at Monymusk till 1245, at Brechin and Lochleven till 1248, at Abernethy till 1272, and at St Andrews up to 1332. It is true that with the advent of the newer religious orders, together with the Norman chivalry, owing to the policy of King David and his successors, they gradually lost the predominant influence which they once possessed in the affairs of Church and State. As long as St Margaret lived they still retained their position in full. Fothad, the Culdee bishop of St Andrews, according to Turgot "a man of most pious memory, with whose life and doctrines the whole region of the Scots was happily enlightened," was the trusted adviser of the holy queen till the year of her death. Turgot himself was his successor in the See, when the new era opened. The essentials of Catholic life

remained the same ; but in accidentals, which are more prominent to the eye of the average historian, the Celtic outlook and methods were to give way to the arrangements favoured by the king and the ruling caste. The monarch and nobles vied with one another in founding monasteries, to which they brought from England and from abroad colonies of Canons Regular and monks of the various forms of the Benedictine rule. Another important change was the division of the country into dioceses, each with its own bishop. In the Culdean period there was only one bishop of the whole nation, but with auxiliary bishops under his control. Among other testimonies this is clear from the inscription on the silver case of a book of the Gospels belonging to a Culdee bishop in 950 : " Fothet, who is the chief (or head) bishop of the Scots." Macewen says well : " the existence in that age of bishops other than the bishop of the nation is now admitted by all historians." Here again the Culdee system was that which formerly prevailed in the Church elsewhere, especially in the East, of one bishop with *chorepiscopi* or rural bishops, who were merely delegates in different parts of his territory or diocese. The whole Scoto-Pictish population must have been very small, and the rule of one bishop, with such assistants, was no doubt fully sufficient to meet every need. The whole country was his diocese. In the same way a diocese was co-extensive with each kingdom of the Saxon heptarchy ; so also St Boniface was for a time sole bishop over a vast portion of Germany. In

course of time a nation or kingdom, with the growth of population or for other reasons, came to be divided into several dioceses. It would seem that in Scotland this division was overdone in erecting such a diocese as that of Brechin. There could only have been the population of a fairly sized parish; and if there was some good reason for making an exempt territory, it could have been erected into an abbatial jurisdiction. It is to be noted that the ancient Culdee clergy were for the purposes of choral service attached to the cathedral churches of several of the new dioceses; and the Culdees of St Andrews long claimed the right to elect the bishops of that See. Yet, just as owing to the circumstances of the time they in their day took the place of the Columban monasticism, they themselves had to give way to the more powerful influences which now prevailed, and gradually disappeared. These phases in the accidentals of church life are to be expected in the vast organisation of the Catholic Church.

As Cardinal Newman, in his own inimitable way says (*Development of Christian Doctrine*, Introd. n. 5), "bold outlines and broad masses of colour rise out of the records of the past. They may be dim, they may be incomplete; but they are definite. And this one thing is certain: whatever history teaches, whatever it omits, whatever it exaggerates or attenuates, at least the Christianity of history is not Protestantism. If ever there were a safe truth, it is this. And Protestantism has ever felt it so." It has felt it,

but will not admit it. The Culdean Church inherited the tradition of Whithorn on the one hand, and of Iona and Bangor on the other. Christianity came first to the Picts through the Roman mission of St Ninian and his disciples. Later the Christianity of both Picts and Scots, eventually to be fused into one people, was consolidated by the zeal of St Columba and other missionaries from Ireland, whose common faith is attested in the extant letters of their contemporary, St Columbanus of Bobbio, to Pope Boniface IV.: "We Irish, living at the far end of the earth, are the disciples of SS. Peter and Paul . . . the Catholic faith as it was first delivered by you, the successors of the holy apostles, is held unchanged . . . we are bound to the Chair of Peter . . . Rome is the head of the churches of the whole world . . . there is no one who does not know that Our Saviour gave to St Peter the keys of the kingdom of heaven; the unity of faith in the whole world made (necessary) the unity of power and prerogative." Outside writers point to passages in these letters of St Columbanus where he addresses the Pontiff with rather a brusque freedom; but they are careful to pass over in total silence the passages quoted above. It is true that the impetuous abbot of Bobbio uses some expressions which, as Montalembert says, "would now be regarded as disrespectful, but not in those young and vigorous times." What is more, they only add the greater force to the evidence drawn from his Confession of Faith.

CHAPTER IV

THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH

THE latest church historian among Scottish writers should have been the last man to take up the parrot cry of "medievalism." In Scotland the revolution of 1560 was followed by a period of two centuries, during which the misery of the country was a byword among the nations. The arts, the architecture, the trade of Catholic times, above all the scientific agriculture of the monks, were lost to the nation, which only began to recover its prosperity when it gradually shook off the incubus of Calvinistic "Judaism." One has only to read Grey Graham's *Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*. But no matter: according to Macewen the sons of St Margaret brought the country under the baleful yoke of Rome. Till then it had its own independent "Celtic" Church; but even during the medieval period submission to the Pope was never really congenial to the independent character of the Scottish people, and even "in the time of the greatest darkness" there was kept alive "among devout souls some 'sponk' of God's light," which at length burst out into a universal flame among the people. This view is based on a strange interpretation of history, and on a sup-

pression of facts that do not answer the purpose. Such church histories need to be supplemented and corrected from the pages of the civil historians.

Macewen, *A History of the Church in Scotland*, (1912-18) Vols. I. and II.
Rankin, *The Church of Scotland.*
Stephen, *History of the Scottish Church*, Vol. I.
Cunningham, *Church History of Scotland* (1859), Vol. I.
Hume Brown, *History of Scotland* (1911), Vol. II.
Hill Burton, *History of Scotland* (1876), Vol. III.
Lang, *History of Scotland* (1902), Vol. II.
Mackintosh, *History of Civilization in Scotland* (1880), Vol. II.
Mathieson, *Politics and Religion : A Study in Scottish History* (1902), Vol. I.

The civil history of the country readily divides this medieval period into three epochs: (1) from the death of St Margaret in 1093 till the death of Alexander III. in 1285, a time on the whole of peace and calm; (2) from 1285 till the death of James IV. on the field of Flodden, an age of wars abroad, and of continual unrest at home owing to the long minorities and captivities of the kings, when the nobility grew turbulent, but were still men of honour; and (3) the eve of the great betrayal during the minority and short reign of James V., and the long minority of Mary till 1560, when the nobility had lost all sense of honour.

I

FROM 1093 TO 1285

That a great change in the outward circumstances of both Church and State was initiated by St Margaret and her sons is undeniable. The civil life of the country became permeated with the Norman feudalism so as to oust, or at least throw altogether into the background, the old Celtic ways and procedure. Yet the king remained the king; and great though the change was, it did not affect the essentials of civil government. So likewise in the ecclesiastical sphere. The one diocese of the bishop of Alban eventually came to be divided into twelve sees, without computing the Orkneys. The erection of parishes was carried out according to the prescriptions of a Canon Law Code, which itself was only then in the making. But the salient feature of the period was the introduction of the newer orders of the religious life to such an extent as to revive the idea of a "monastic" church in Scotland. By the end of the period there were no fewer than eighty-six foundations of the various forms of the Augustinian and Benedictine rule. To the dispassionate reader of history all this means no change in the essentials of church life, when he only remembers that in the Catholic Church at the present day there are prelates ruling territories without being "diocesan" bishops, and priests in

charge of districts that are not canonically erected parishes, while the swarm of ever new religious orders throughout the last three centuries has only to be kept in mind. St Margaret found something amiss with the discipline of the Culdean Church, but not with its faith. As the king remained the king, so did the Pope.

But outside writers of Church history cannot see their way to admit this. They ought, however, to admit that the passing from independence of Rome to dependence on Rome must have meant a momentous fact; yet nobody in the eleventh century appears to have been in the least aware of it. History is absolutely silent on the point; and to meet the case Macewen (I. p. 192) makes the following attempt at historical acumen: "Despite occasional resistance to increasing papal claims, the desire for centralisation through organised unity under a visible head had steadily prevailed throughout Western Christendom. The Latin Church was established (in Scotland) with a thoroughness which no formal legislation could have secured." He supposes that there was a "movement for union" going on, which took in Scotland in its stride; but his supposition is utterly baseless. People do not desire what they already possess. One has only to remember that this was the age of Gregory VII., the great Hildebrand, and of the first crusade under Urban II., when the "centralisation through organised unity under the visible headship" of the Holy See was a patent fact, recognised for centuries before not only in Western,

but, for the matter of that, up till then also in Eastern Christendom. Macewen plays with the designation "Latin Church." There was a church of the Celts, a church of the Saxons, a church of the Gauls, but there was no church of the "Latins" even in Italy. However, in their liturgy they all belonged to the Latin Church. In this sense the Celtic Church of Ireland and Scotland, and the Saxon Church of England, were more Latin even than the French or the Spanish or the Italian Church; France, Spain and Italy knew Latin before the apostles preached to them, but Ireland and Columban Scotland, as well as Saxon England, knew no Latin till they became Christian. They learned Latin not from the Rome of the Cæsars, but from the Rome of the Popes; that is why there was no need of formal legislation in Scotland at the end of the eleventh century. The change initiated by St Margaret and her sons was not a revolution, but an evolution. Outside writers fail to find in the very scanty records of the "Celtic" church any mention of a legate *a latere* in full panoply coming to the narrow strait to holloa his arrival over to the monks of Iona. If they only knew it, within the last twenty years two emissaries of the Pope, with as ample powers as any legate *a latere* of the Middle Ages, crossed the border into Scotland in a third-class railway carriage. The power vested in the Holy See is always the same, but the manner of its exercise varies with the times and circumstances. More than that; the exercise of the power has developed with the ages just like

that of the civil power, as the Church like the State is a society among men, not a mere abstraction. The supreme authority of the State, viewed in itself, was the same in the eleventh century as it is now in the twentieth ; yet what a difference between the complexity and range in the exercise of that same civil power nowadays as compared with the simple rule of our early kings ! Yet all was inherent in their authority, though the circumstances of their age did not call for its manifestation. Malcolm Canmore did not establish old-age pensions ; yet the present-day legislation on old-age pensions is not a usurpation on the part of the State, but an evolution of an inherent right. So too the exercise of the Pope's authority in Scotland during the " Celtic " period may not have been so complex and extensive as it was subsequently, but it was felt according to the measure of the circumstances. The early records are scanty, but on one thing they are clear—in pointing to the Holy See as the centre of unity.

It is remarkable how outside church historians strive to minimise the Pope's power as exercised in the medieval period itself. The following passage from Macewen (I. pp. 236-7) is a typical instance of confused thought : " There was no approach to a general disavowal of papal authority. On the contrary the habit of appealing to Rome developed, and the influence of the papacy over church affairs increased steadily. The 'special daughter' of Rome was willing, indeed anxious, to demonstrate her special relationship by sharing

as an independent church in all the affairs of the Church Catholic. Between 1177 and 1221 at least six church councils were held in Scotland by legatine authority. . . . The submission of the clergy to such unwelcome enactments shows that their claim to be independent of Rome was strictly limited. It rarely, if ever, went beyond a refusal to acquiesce in measures which implied directly or indirectly the subjection of the Scottish to the English Church." He adds in a note: "There was no sign of objection to the consecration of bishops by Italian or French representatives of the Pope." It is hard to see how there could possibly have been any claim to be independent of Rome even in a "strictly limited" sense. He himself gives facts which prove the opposite to the hilt: the constant appeals to Rome: six councils held by legatine authority, *i.e.* by the authority of the Pope; and what is the strongest argument of all, the submission of our countrymen to unwelcome exactions of money for crusades. Apparently, the inference which Macewen wishes his simple readers to draw is: The Scottish Church claimed to be independent of the English see of York, therefore it claimed to be independent of Rome. This, too, though both Scotland and York appealed to Rome to settle the matter. After the dispute with York was ended, the Scottish bishops were enjoined by the Pope to hold regular councils and, as there was yet no archbishop among them, under the presidency of each in turn, this president being called the Conservator. "This accords," says

Macewen (I. p. 239), "with the severest assertion of episcopal parity laid down by Cyprian in his resistance to the bishop of Rome." As it was the Pope who made the arrangement and they obeyed, it is hard to see how there was parity with him, except on the strength of the argument: The Scottish bishops were equal to one another, therefore they were equal to the Pope. This writer has dipped into patrology. It is true that St Cyprian, such is human weakness, is said in one instance to have disobeyed Pope St Stephen, though the fact of his having actually disobeyed is highly questionable, and that too on the authority of no less a person than St Augustine. But if he did, his conduct was inconsistent with his faith. It is enough to quote from his 27th Epistle: "As there is only one Baptism, and there is only one Holy Spirit, so there is only one Church founded by Christ Our Lord on Peter as the source and ground of unity": and from the 55th: "They dared to set sail and bear letters from schismatics and from the profane to the Chair of Peter and the principal Church, whence is the source of sacerdotal unity, not giving heed that these were the Romans whose faith was praised by the Apostle, to whom unfaith could have no access." St Cyprian was martyred in 258, nearly four centuries before the time of St Columbanus of Bobbio. The Scottish bishops of the period knew all this, and obeyed the Pope. Macewen admits that "the resemblance of the office of Conservator to the moderatorship of Presbyterian assemblies is very slight;"

one should rather suppose that there is none at all.

This period was the golden age in the annals of Scotland. On the whole it was a time of peace and of friendly intercourse with England, while there was general harmony at home. The nobles, wielding great power, rivalled the king in establishing centres of progress and culture. Historians, whether civil or ecclesiastical, are at one in asserting that the erection of so many monasteries met the needs of the time. To quote Macewen (I. pp. 199-20): "These settlements (of monks) were in the interests of orderly and progressive life, and the monks were esteemed because their labours were beneficent . . . the rise of institutions so equipped, while securing a higher standard of agriculture than that of the barons and other laymen, was an integral part of the general growth of civilisation." This was the time when architecture and the kindred arts flourished in the erection of the cathedral and abbey churches. The one weak point, which afterwards led to evil consequences, was the attaching even at this early date of so many parishes to monasteries. Paisley, Kelso, Holyrood and Arbroath had among them 126 parishes, Arbroath alone having 33 from the date of its foundation. The monastery took the revenues, subject to a provision for the vicar who had the cure of souls. However, during this period, along with the temporal advantages, the religious life of the nation flourished.

II

FROM 1285 TO 1513

Then followed two centuries of civil unrest, whether in wars with England or with turmoil at home. The long War of Independence upset all peace and harmony, and left the nation inured to strife and disorder. The long minorities and captivities of the kings gave rise to the growth of exorbitant power in the hands of the nobles, whose turbulence became a proverb in Europe. It was in vain that James I. tried to quell it. His successors, one after another, even after they attained their majority, were unable to cope successfully with the various factions that arose. The clergy, to their honour, invariably supported the king in the cause of peace and order, and the monarchs could rely on them for embassies abroad and for administering justice at home. But this led to the entrance of the bishops and other higher clergy into an excessive participation in the civil government of the country. They came to be more barons than pastors of souls. And by a strange contrast to the secular barons they were subservient to a degree which sowed the seed of incalculable harm to come at a later day. They appear at an early date to have allowed the king to interfere unduly in the choice of men for presentation to the Pope in order to obtain his confirmation to bishoprics and abbacies. It

is incomprehensible how they did not see the probable evil consequences of their Act of Council which recognised the assumed right of the monarch during the vacancy of an episcopal see to administer its revenues and to confer all benefices in the bishop's gift. Further, ecclesiastical legislation came to be mixed up with Acts of Parliament in a way detrimental to the interests of the Church. This arose from the fact that the church dignitaries were the ablest members attending the parliaments and other civil assemblies of the nation, and took advantage of these meetings to promulgate their ecclesiastical decrees. But this led to lowering the standing of Church councils and to render them infrequent, while it gradually paved the way to the extensive intermeddling of the king in spiritual matters. One is glad to agree for once with Macewen, that "in the reigns of the first four Jameses church affairs were shaped and controlled by the rulers of the nation, and were administered in a fashion distinctive of Scotland." Monastic discipline, owing principally to the unrest of the time, became gradually lax. In 1425 James I. called on the heads of the Augustinian and Benedictine orders to "restore the profession of the monastic life," which had grown extremely remiss to the scandal of the faithful. Meantime, however, the newer orders of friars had been introduced into Scotland to the advantage of religion. The Dominicans came as early as the previous period on the invitation of Alexander II., who on one of his visits to Paris had met St Dominic himself.

The Franciscans appeared later, first the Conventuals, and then the Observants. The great pestilence, called the Black Death, which in the middle of the fourteenth century ravaged the rest of Europe, also wrought great havoc in Scotland. It was the most zealous of the clergy attending the plague-stricken who were carried off, and their places had to be filled by hurried ordinations to meet the most pressing needs of the people. It is now that Macewen prides himself on his original researches in burrowing among copies of the Papal Registers, which Leo XIII. laid open to all scholars. But he confines himself to the scandals of the period, ignoring all else as unimportant, and not taking into account that the delinquent clergy, however numerous they appear to be on his list, were but a small fraction of their brethren. He has done his best to give a very dark picture; it all depends on what is left out. The clergy of the time, whether secular or regular, were in the main good and exemplary, even allowing that the monks had become remiss in their discipline.

But however worldly the church dignitaries may have become in their capacity as barons and lords of parliament, however dim monastic fervour may have grown, and whatever scandals there were among the clergy, one point is clear—that they and the nation were devoted to the Holy See. There was, of course, resistance at times to unwelcome enactments of the Pope, just as there was in Italy or Spain. Outside writers dwell complacently on these cases; they are unable, or

unwilling, to see that disobedience to authority does not necessarily mean rejection of the authority. Such is human weakness: not to mention the authority of God Himself, rulers in the State, and fathers in the family, have been and are so disobeyed. And it is no paradox to say that the more Catholic were the times, and the more Catholic the country, the more ready were they to call on the Pope to revise his decisions in their own favour. Gregory XVI. said that the tiny archdukedom of Tuscany gave him far more trouble than all the great powers put together. Catholics living among sectaries are not so ready even in appearance to disobey the Holy See. The celebrated letter of the Scottish Estates in 1320 to John XXII. is an instance in point; they were anxious to have the Pope on their side. Robert Bruce had no peace till he was absolved from excommunication for the murder of the Red Comyn. The overbearing James I. had in the end to submit to a power greater than his own. During this period occurred, by the permission of God, that sad time for the Church called the Schism of the West, when there were two, and eventually three, claimants to the see of Peter. Macewen takes comfort in the thought that Scotland adhered to the "anti-pope," which is an admission that the line of Urban VI. was the legitimate one. We know that now; but it was by no means so clear at the time. St Vincent Ferrer adhered to Benedict (called the) XIII. as the rightful Pope, though he adjured him to resign in order to end

the controversy. It is probable that Scotland, knowing little of the merits of the case, just adhered in opposition to England to the claimant recognised by France. It was this Benedict who gave the charter for the foundation of St Andrews University, which will explain further why Scotland for a time upheld his claim even after both France and Aragon had given him up. However, given up eventually he was in Scotland, and that too on the seemingly ungrateful verdict given by the doctors of the university itself. Macewen (I. p. 323, note) remarks that "it is curious how the adherents of one of the claimants tacitly acknowledged the validity of the action of the other two in other lands; so wholly political and non-religious was the strife." There is nothing curious about it; so long as uncertainty lasted, the act of each claimant could be taken as probably valid, and the reasonable acts of all were confirmed by the undoubted pontiff, Martin V., whose election ended the schism. It is not to be denied that this struggle for the papal chair lowered the prestige of the Holy See in other lands, but not so in Scotland. Macewen himself appears to admit this. According to him, the appeals and petitions to Rome were multiplied without number, and "in the time of James IV. Scotland was freer from heretical intention than any other country in Europe" (I. p. 336).

III

FROM 1513 TO 1560

The old nobility of England was practically exterminated by the Wars of the Roses, and this brought on the despotism of the Tudor sovereign, with a subservient crew battening on the spoil of the monasteries. On the other hand in Scotland the long minorities of this period reduced the royal power to insignificance, and gave an undue predominance to the barons. James V., in the few years he lived after attaining his majority, was helpless in face of their opposition, and died of a broken heart after the disgrace of Solway Moss. The genius of Cardinal Beaton kept them in check for a time, but after his murder the weakness of the regent Arran and the worldly wisdom of the queen-mother, Mary of Guise, brought their ascendancy to completion. The common people in town and country were completely at their mercy. If the Scottish barons had been men of ordinarily fair character, there need have been nothing amiss. Macewen admits that "they were men of questionable rectitude." Lang goes further: "selfish and false beyond parallel"; Hosack still further: "the most rapacious and corrupt nobility that probably ever existed." Perhaps the just mean is given by Cunningham and Robertson: "in them all sense of honour was lost." This must be understood of the generality, for there were exceptions; but

it is true of all those who by their influence and talents brought matters to a head in 1559 and 1560. The only one who ever got "good" attached to his name was the regent Moray; but even of him Mackintosh (II. p. 191) is forced to say: "he had been an unscrupulous man, and his character will not bear close inspection"; in fact, judged by the standard of to-day, he was a low scoundrel. As this period advanced they gradually captured the whole organization of the Church. Though the king could not control them, he could set them an example which they gladly followed. Step by step they took possession either for themselves or for the cadets of their houses of nearly all the bishoprics, monastic prelatures and valuable Church livings. At first they had no other purpose but that of satisfying their own greed and of advancing their relations; it was only later that they found that it would be to their advantage to secure their robbery by a revolution under the colour of religion in favour of a handful of fanatics.

The condition of the episcopate during these forty-seven years is a sad story. During the whole time in the thirteen dioceses of Scotland there were only four, or at most five, bishops who could be said to have had any vocation from God to serve at the altar. In other words the worthless kith and kin of the nobility came into possession of the episcopal sees—"creatures, not only unfit, but wicked or ignorant, or mere boys, or not even in orders." The mischief began when James IV. induced the Pope to appoint his

brother, the Duke of Ross, aged twenty-one, to the See of St Andrews, and afterwards his natural son, Alexander Stuart, aged sixteen, who fell with him on Flodden field. "James IV. set an ill example," says Lang (I. p. 385), "in giving St Andrews to his natural son; benefices were being robbed under one colour or another by the nobles." Then he quotes Gairdner: "In one See there had been a succession of Stewarts, in another of Gordons, in another of Hepburns . . . in the next reign the Church ran through scandal to ruin."

The same held good of the monastic prelatures, which became a provision for the needy scions of the nobility. James V. set the royal example by thus providing for no fewer than five of his natural sons in their infancy, among them the future regent, Moray, at the age of seven. The nobility were powerful enough to follow suit; and there was soon an array of abbots and priors, most of whom did not even make the pretence of being clergymen, and later accepted the revolution without any regard to religious conviction. It is remarkable that the "Beggars' Summons" of 1559 (a poor imitation of the "Beggars' Supplication" in England thirty years before) was addressed only to the friars. The reason is that the property of the monks had been already well gripped; there only remained the possessions of the Dominicans and Franciscans to seize. The poor got nothing; the "beggars" were the nobility and their dependent gentry. The annual revenue of the Church is computed to

have been £327,734, of which more than two-thirds or £220,618 belonged to the monasteries. It is pointed out as something monstrous that this was more than half the wealth of the kingdom. But it has to be remembered that the monks made this wealth; they got originally lands of little value, and as the years went by it was they who subdued the ground and made it fertile. They more than doubled their right of ownership by the impress of their labour and skill. It was a sad change for the peasantry of Scotland. Henderson, a contemporary writer, complains that "the poor labourers of the ground came to be in more servitude than were the children of Israel in Egypt," and he also called for the restoration of the old almshouses and hospitals decayed under the greedy cadets of noble houses, who for long had monopolised the best benefices. Many, who would have lived in comfort under the old genuine monastic tenure, were now turned adrift and became vagrants, needy and desperate, known afterwards as Knox's "rascal multitude." Agriculture declined gradually till, at the end of the seventeenth century, there were 200,000 vagrants in the country, and the poverty of Scotland passed into a proverb. Even though the conditions of rural life afterwards improved steadily, Rankin (p. 429) is not afraid to say that "seeing that perhaps one half of the land of this country has passed through so degraded a history, the modern popular impatience of landowners is not so unreasonable as it appears at first sight."

But the grasp of the nobility and their dependent gentry reached even further in the hold they gradually obtained of parishes and other benefices which were of any considerable money value. With such bishops and abbots to reckon with, and keeping in mind that the lords of the soil were the patrons presenting to benefices, there need be no surprise that men without any vocation to the priesthood were promoted. Many sons of the local gentry were thus in possession of rectories or other lucrative benefices, some of whom were not, and did not even pretend to be, clergymen. This is clear from a statute of the last council of the Church held in 1559 that "all who held benefices were to be cited by their Ordinaries, and that those, who had not at least been admitted to minor orders, were to be compelled to take the orders required by the livings they held, or to resign their livings." As to the vicars of the parishes belonging to the monasteries, the new lay-abbots grudged them even the most pitiful sustenance from the ample monastic funds, and the result was that these vicars in order to live had to exact exorbitant stole fees from the people. It was easy for Sir David Lindsay to cast this up to scorn and ridicule; but it was as much as his life was worth to give the true cause.

So far it has been a sad story. But when all is said, there still existed in Scotland a large body of true priests, exemplary and learned. For two generations after 1560 Mass was said all over Scotland, openly in the north and west, and with

precautions elsewhere owing to the dominant faction. In 1567—seven years after the Revolution—the General Assembly resolved to " reform the schools, colleges and universities, expelling the idolaters who had charge thereof." These were nearly all priests ; and two years afterwards, in 1569, the University of Aberdeen was still governed by Catholic principals and regents. In 1560 many priests flocked over to the Continent in the expectation that they would soon be able to return with a counter-revolution, which was by no means an unlikely contingency. Eventually, while some of them entered the Society of Jesus and other religious orders, the other refugees got employment in the universities and in parish work abroad. It would appear that by 1560 there were very few monks left in any of the monasteries to be sent adrift; we find that Queen Mary supported them later from her personal funds. The Conventual Franciscans migrated in a body, eighty strong, to their friaries in the Low Countries. It is to the high honour of the Observant Franciscans that they were the special object of hatred to the sectaries ; and, though there is no direct historical evidence, the inference is certain that they spread themselves all over the country to keep the people true to the Faith. There was accordingly a great body of faithful priests, both secular and regular, who were to be deserted and betrayed by their unworthy prelates. What James V. said in 1540 remained true in 1560 : in the Sadler State Papers is to be read : " O, quoth the king, God forbid

that if a few be not good, for them all the rest should be destroyed ; though some be not, quoth he, there be a great many good. The good may be suffered that the evil may be reformed, as ye shall see . . . if I brook life." Macewen contents himself with quoting only the last sentence (I. p. 449). It is not to be denied that there were scandalous lives, sad to say, in the high places, also among high-born rectors, some of whom were not even in orders, foisted on parishes, and among vicars and chaplains who emulated their noble patrons. One outside writer calls this the Augean stable ; but he ought to remember that the Augean stable in 1560 emptied out its contents into the kirk of the new gospel. With one or two exceptions, all these scandalous prelates, well-born rectors, vicars and chaplains went over, at least nominally, to the new religion, and it was deemed wise to deal with them as zealous members of the new church. It was as much as the life of the new gospel was worth to meddle with them. Not till eighteen years had elapsed, in 1578, was there an attempt to do so : according to Hill Burton (III. p. 326) " superintendents were required to deal with all abbots, bishops and others who profess to belong to the Kirk by drawing its emoluments, and yet who neither perform pastoral duties nor attend meetings of Assembly, that their right to remain as ministers of the Word might be tested."

The writers of civil history admit, and outside church historians are beginning to see, that in 1560 the common people in the vast mass were Catholic. West of the Grampians and north of

the Mount, in thirteen shires of Scotland, the new gospel was unknown. In the rest of the country the peasantry was absolutely untouched. The adherents of the new tenets were confined to four classes: with more or less sincerity to a few lairds and to some burghers of six towns, viz., Edinburgh, Dundee, St Andrews, Perth, Brechin, Montrose and Stirling, all within a narrow compass on the eastern seaboard, and elsewhere, so far, only Ayr; to the vagrants who infested the country, but very loosely as to religious conviction; and to the faction of greater and lesser barons, who called themselves the lords of the Congregation. Regarding these last, Lang quotes the words of an English spy: "It makes one sore to see these gentlemen feigning themselves favourers of the Word of God," and adds: "hypocrisy that sickens a spy must be odious indeed." After they appealed to the sword for their own ends, under the pretence of religion, it is remarkable how in 1559 and 1560 the whole force on either side consisted only of a few thousands; the military strength of the nation never appeared. The nobles could not get their vassals, with the exception of a few henchmen, to rise in such a cause. On the other hand the Queen Regent could not raise the country except through the nobles opposed to her. The consequence was that she had to depend almost exclusively on imported French regiments, two of which at least, however, were composed of Scotsmen by birth. The nobles, on their side, had to depend for their rank and file on their few henchmen

and on some burghers of towns, but principally on the crowd of vagrants who were good fighters and ready for anything to turn up. Knox was called in to rouse them ; but they were not bigoted in the matter of religion, only particular about their pay. On two occasions, in July and in November 1559, the lords of the Congregation had to evacuate Edinburgh in ignominious flight ; the reason was that the needful money had not arrived from England, and the " rascal multitude " melted away for want of their pay. During the struggle Edinburgh is supposed to have turned Catholic or Protestant according to the issue ; but in reality very few of the real citizens, if any, accepted the new gospel. In 1567, seven years after the Revolution, Mamerot, a Dominican friar, who had been preacher and confessor to Queen Mary, reported to De Silva, the Spanish ambassador in London, that in the church at Edinburgh which she attended 12,600 people had communicated during the preceding Lent ; and that he knew this because he had counted them. And this too only in the queen's chapel. The population of Edinburgh at the time is computed to have been only 30,000, children as well as adults. One of Randolph's reports in 1561 confirms : " As great numbers have repayred to her chappel to hear Mass as sometymes come to the common churches to the sermonde." Randolph is scrupulously accurate in saying " sometymes." On one of the two occasions in 1559 when, to use Knox's words, the nobles " on a dark and dolorous night with shame and fear fled from the town," the

citizens of Edinburgh pelted them with stones, calling them "heretics and traitors." On the other occasion the Queen Regent called on the minister, Craig, to take a plebiscite of the citizens as to which faith they belonged; but he wisely refused because his noble friends were off to Stirling. Lang draws the evident inference that "the sackings and sermons must have been due to an energetic minority; the majority being respectables, unarmed, timid and unorganised. The Catholics of Edinburgh seem to have been numerous even at a much later date, but they were unwarlike." That a minority, and a small one, can effect a revolution is no new thing in history. The vast majority of the nation were true to the Faith, but they had no leader, such as would have been a vigorous king, or even a churchman with the genius of Cardinal Beaton. Their opponents had all the weight of influence and talent both in council and in war. On the Catholic side there was no one to match with Moray, or with Lethington whom Lang (II. p. 29) describes as "unconvinced (in religion) . . . a man of to-day, moving among fanatics and assassins, and using both without relish as without scruple." Yet, as it was, the success of the lords of the Congregation turned on a hazard; it depended on whether France or England would win the day in Scotland. France got into difficulties of her own, and England won.

The preachers of the new gospel played a very secondary part in bringing on the revolution. Their audiences, as a rule armed to the teeth,

were limited to a very small section of the nation ; and they certainly did not convert the Scottish people. Their whole contribution to the event was to give the colour of religion to the selfish design of the nobles. John Knox would never have been heard of had it not been for the policy of men who, to suit their own purposes, styled themselves the lords of the Congregation. He had the gift of a denunciatory style of preaching, and, as Buckle says (III. p. 78), "they thought it would be useful in stirring up the people to rebellion." As a matter of fact, the only people he stirred up were his own "rascal multitude" of vagabonds. This was his opportunity, which, as Pope says with far less reason of Cromwell, "damned him to everlasting fame."

CHAPTER V

THE REVOLUTION OF 1560

THERE are still Scotsmen to be found who really believe that the Revolution of 1560 was the work of the people. According to this view, "the open Bible had revealed to their astonished gaze the heavenly promises of the Gospel, filling their souls with warm thrills of joy, and with a flow of peace and hope swelling and floating aloft." Only an insignificant minority, and that the dregs of the population, still adhered to what was now called "the idolatry of the Mass." The ancient nobility, with a disinterestedness that did them honour, carried out the national will by a revolution, which forms the brightest page in the annals of free peoples.

Sober history tells a very different tale :—

Hume Brown, *History of Scotland* (1911), Vol. II.
Hill Burton, *History of Scotland* (1876), Vol. III.
Tytler, *History of Scotland*, Vols. V., VI., VII.
Robertson, *History of Scotland*, Vol. I.
A. Lang, *History of Scotland* (1902), Vol. II.
Buckle, *History of Civilisation* (1885), Vol. III.
Mathieson, *Politics and Religion: A Study in Scottish History* (1902), Vol. I.
Mackintosh, *History of Civilization in Scotland* (1880), Vol. II.

M'Crie, *Life of John Knox.*
A. Lang, *John Knox and the Reformation.*
Cook, *History of the Reformation in Scotland.*
Cunningham, *Church History of Scotland* (1859), Vols. II., III.
Rankin (Storey Ed.), *The Church of Scotland.*
Stephen, *History of the Scottish Church.*
Grub, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland.*
Forbes Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics.*

I

The basic fact in this inquiry is the numerical standing of the Catholics in 1560 and for sixty years afterwards. Most writers are apt to speak loosely as if in 1560 the nation had become Protestant, equivocating between the government of the nation and the people of the nation. Dr Lees, as quoted by Rankin (p. 428), says honestly that "the blow came not from the people but from the aristocracy. The idea that the common people had become so instructed in the truths of Scripture as to abhor the doctrines of the Papacy is far from being historically correct."

IN 1560

Hume Brown (II. p. 61): "Though with the help of England Protestantism had triumphed, the great majority in the country was still on the side of the old religion."

Mathieson (I. pp. 22, 66, 69): "In whatever way we may attempt to account for it, the small

part played by the nation at large in this crisis is very remarkable. It was evident from the first that without English intervention the Protestant movement must inevitably collapse. The truth is—and every page of contemporary history bears witness to the fact—that the lords of the Congregation profoundly distrusted their own cause. Protestantism was a growing force in some of the towns, but it had absolutely no hold on the peasantry; and the nobles, who almost all professed the new faith for reasons peculiar to themselves, were feebly supported by their vassals. . . . The people did not rally to the voice of Knox; there was no enthusiasm for the cause. . . . The monasteries were thrown to the ground at a time when Protestantism had evidently no hold on the nation at large."

Cunningham (II. p. 341), referring to the flight to Stirling after the rout of Leith, before help came from England: "Two days ago all Edinburgh seemed Protestant; but, now, says Knox, 'the despiteful tongues of the wicked railed upon us, calling us traitors and heretics, everyone provoking the other to cast stones at us.' The Congregation were hooted and pelted as they left the city."

FROM 1560 TO 1580

Cunningham (II. p. 393): In 1562 "Mass was still celebrated in many parish churches; and where it could not be celebrated openly in the churches, it was performed privately in gentle-

men's houses. Large districts were still attached to the ancient forms. When Protestant ministers made their appearance at Paisley, Aberdeen, Curry, Dupplin and Aberdalgie, they found the doors of the churches barred against them."

Hume Brown (II. pp. 73, 85): In 1563 "in various parts of the country Mass was openly said. . . . In 1564 the Mass was gaining ground every day . . . In 1572 so equally were the two religions divided (*i.e.* in political force) that not before another violent convulsion, and not till England again decisively intervened, did Protestantism become definitely the national religion" (*i.e.* hold its ground on the Statute Book of the prevailing faction in the State).

Forbes Leith, quoting a letter of Fr. John Hay in 1579: "I do not doubt that, were a few men of influence to set themselves resolutely to the task, the Catholic Religion in Scotland might shortly be restored to its former condition" (*i.e.* as the recognised religion of the State). "No one would believe the detestation which the common people feel for the Calvinist ministers."

FROM 1580 TO 1600

Hume Brown (II. p. 132): In 1588 "so formidable was the party of the old religion that a handful of invaders would have turned the scale in their favour."

Cunningham (II. p. 503): "There is still in existence a remarkable State paper in the handwriting of Lord Burghley (Elizabeth's minister),

and belonging to the year 1589, in which we have an estimate of the comparative strength of the Roman Catholic and Protestant parties. . . . The whole northern part of the country, including the counties of Inverness, Caithness, Sutherland, Aberdeen and Moray, with the sheriffdoms of Buchan and Angus, and Wigtown and Nithsdale in the south, were still almost entirely Catholic. On the Protestant side were ranked the counties of Perth, Stirling, Fife, Lanark, Renfrew and Dumbarton. Ayr and Linlithgow were regarded as dubious." "In 1589, notwithstanding the terrors of excommunication (*i.e.* by the Kirk, involving death or exile) priests were openly saying Mass. . . . It was not safe to meddle with the priests saying Mass" (p. 501).

Lang (II. p. 374): "It would appear that in 1593 the Catholics were still a numerical majority, which is unexpected."

FROM 1600 TO 1620

Forbes Leith, quoting a letter of Fr. Anderson in 1611: "Under a daily increasing persecution, God still preserves an immense number of Catholics, who remain steadfast and are ready to shed their blood for the Catholic faith."

Cunningham (III. p. 26): In 1612 "the adherents of Rome were still numerous: and many of the nominal Protestants were still unable to divorce themselves from Roman feelings, opinions and practices. The citizens of Glasgow were still under the impression that a crucifix gave luck

(that is his way of putting it). The truth is the popular mind was by no means purged of Popery."

Stephen (II. p. 210): In 1614 "the Roman Catholics were still numerous, especially in the the north, and kept their worship openly or secretly in spite of the 'diligence committees' appointed to hunt them down. . . . In Aberdeen, Caithness and Edinburgh, we read of lairds and tradesmen, priests and advocates, being imprisoned and banished for the profession of papacy."

Hume Brown (II. p. 213): In 1620 "the number of Catholics, it is to be remembered, was still very great. They abounded in the shires of Aberdeen, Dumfries and Kirkcudbright; and such a town as Paisley was a 'nest of Papists.'"

Therefore it is an historic fact that in 1560 the great majority of the Scottish people remained steadfastly Catholic, and continued to be so for over a generation. The revolution was by no means "in its essence a religious movement springing out of the devout feeling and aspiration of the people"; and short work is made of many reasons given by our philosophical historians in order to explain how the country became Protestant; for example, the alleged ignorance and iniquities of the clergy, the corpse presents, Lindsay's satires, the *Gude & Godlie Ballads*, old Walter Mylne, the Demosthenic eloquence of Knox, etc. There is no arguing against facts. The great body of the people remained Catholic to the core, and there is abundant evidence that they regarded the new gospel with a mixture of

derision and abhorrence. But it will be asked how came it about that a small minority was able to proscribe the Catholic faith held by the great majority, and eventually to reduce its profession to the "faithful remnant." To answer this it will be necessary to enter into the real causes and the course of the Revolution, showing how the people were gradually starved out of the aids and succours of their holy religion.

II

The causes of the Revolution are given in the order of their efficacy. They all contributed to the result, each in its measure being necessary to the other; but without the action of the first or principal cause the next two would never have come into play, and the fourth would never have existed.

A. *The Greed of the Nobility.*

First in order come, in the words of Froude, "the gaunt and hungry nobles of Scotland—careless, most of them, of God or devil." Robertson, referring to them, says: "During that turbulent period the sense of honour was entirely lost." And Cunningham (II. p. 298): "It must be told that the conduct of too many of the nobles at this period exhibits a complication of meanness and villainy; and albeit they professed to favour the Reformation, we cannot think that

the end justifies the means." Yet the fate of the country was entirely at the mercy of such men. "In Scotland," says Cunningham (II. p. 351): "the barons were always a match for the throne, even when a vigorous king was on it, and much more than a match when it was filled by a child; and so now they took the matter in hand and accomplished the Reformation. Had it not been for the favour of the oligarchy, Knox would have preached in vain, or rather he would never have preached at all." The Catholic Church was supposed to have half the wealth of the country, most of which she had herself made by scientific agriculture. This was well worth selling their honour for. In the words of Buckle: "From the beginning to the end it was nothing but spoliation. This made a common interest which held them (the nobles) firmly together when they professed a union for purely religious objects." "In 1543 the regent Arran," says Cunningham (I. p. 368), "confessed to Sadler (Henry VIII.'s envoy) that so many great men were Papists, that unless the sin of covetousness made them Reformers, he saw no other way in which the Reformation could be effected." But in the seventeen years before 1560 they had learnt their lesson well. "As the prospects of the division of the spoil approached," says Mackintosh (II. p. 61), "many of the nobles became more and more ardent in their adherence to the principles of the Reformation." Even M'Crie has to admit in his own way: "There is reason to think that this allegation is not altogether groundless." Rankin

sums up (p. 427): "The wealth of the Catholic Church was to be wasted among the most greedy and unprincipled men of that age. . . In this way a large proportion of the proprietorship of Scotland rests on a basis utterly rotten and fraudulent—on violence and knavery. . . This enrichment became a curse, retarding liberty and prosperity, culture and agriculture."

B. *The Capture of the Citadel.*

Previously in Scottish history the power of the Church had been the great check on the turbulent nobility, to the advantage of the king, who had little power, and of the people, who had none. But in the thirty years before the revolution the high places and even the government in the hierarchy had been captured by "the scions of the nobility." The result was that, not only the throne and the people, but also the organisation of the Church herself, were in 1560 completely at the mercy of the barons. This evil owed its origin to a triple pernicious custom which began just one century before. The Crown was supposed to have the right to fill vacant benefices during the vacancy of an episcopal see. The appointment of outsiders as *commendatory* abbots became the usage. Cathedral and monastic chapters were deprived of their right of election—the nomination to bishoprics and abbacies being usurped by the Crown, or rather by the faction which controlled the Crown for the time being. Even so, for a time, worthy enough men were on the whole

chosen for dignities and benefices. But from thirty years before the revolution the system took on its worst form. Two Catholic writers of the period deplore the evil. Ninian Winzet: "The special roots of all mischief be the two infernal monsters, pride and avarice, of which unhappily has upsprung the election of unqualified bishops and other pastors in Scotland." And John Mair: "By open flattery do the worthless sons of our nobility get the governance of convents *in commendam*; and they covet these ample revenues solely for the high position that these places offer." Thus James V. himself, though otherwise inclined to reform abuses, provided for five illegitimate sons in their infancy: James, afterwards the regent Moray, prior of St Andrews (at the age of seven); another James, abbot of Kelso; Robert, abbot of Holyrood (at the age of five); John, prior of Coldingham; and Adam, prior to the Charter House at Perth. This set the example, and by 1560 the revenues of almost all the monasteries, giving the right to a seat in Parliament, were in the hands of men, most of them mere laymen, who knew nothing about the religious life, and cared less. The one solitary exception of unblemished life as well as zeal for the Faith was Quintin Kennedy of the house of Cassillis, who, though a secular priest, was commendatory abbot of Crossraguel. It need hardly be added that otherwise "the scions of the nobility" fell in gladly with the policy of their chiefs.

The episcopate, too, was captured. As Stephen

says (I. p. 530): "Many of the bishops were cadets, often illegitimate, of lordly houses, thrust by family influence into the sacred office, for which they were qualified neither by life nor learning. Some of them became professed reformers when the storm burst, and they carried with them little credit to the new religion." Within the thirty years before 1560 only three truly worthy and competent bishops of the old stamp appeared on the scene, but unfortunately they all died before the outbreak of the revolution—Dunbar of Aberdeen, Panter of Ross and Reid of Orkney. "It is vain to conjecture," says Stephen, "what might have been, but still we may imagine what twelve other bishops like-minded with Bishop Reid would have done for the Scottish Church." When the crisis came three sees were vacant; and of the ten bishops only two were men of mark to some extent—Beaton of Glasgow, a good man, but with no grit to face the storm; and Hamilton of St Andrews, zealous in his way for the Faith, but one, as Mathieson says, who "proved a better friend to the house of Hamilton than to the Catholic cause."

C. *The Rascal Multitude.*

"The (Catholic) Church's tenants," says Cunningham (II. p. 275), "were notoriously the most lightly rented in the whole country. Sir Richard Maitland poured forth a lament upon the change which was felt when the lands passed into the hands of the temporal lords." The true old

abbots, "elected by the Convent and of the Convent," had on the monastic lands, besides the regular tenants, hundreds of cottars at nominal rents. A great change began from thirty years before the revolution, with the advent of the "lay" commendators. For "now the revenues of a single monastery, which formerly supported 200 people in honesty and comfort, were scarcely sufficient to maintain the profligacy and extravagance of one spoiler." The result was that thousands of poor people were sent adrift to lead the lives of vagabonds, and turn desperate. This was the crowd to whom Knox gave the fond name of "the rascal multitude." As time passed, and the lands once so well looked after by the monks went out of cultivation, they increased gradually till at the end of the next century there were in Scotland 200,000 vagrants, without house or home, out of a population of barely 1,000,000. Of course, in 1558, they were not so numerous, but they were numerous enough for any mischief. And they were wanted to give to the revolution the semblance of a popular movement. The nobles could not depend on "the great majority of the people"; but the rascal multitude could be relied on for the work expected of them, as Mathieson explains (I. p. 61), "not only pulling down the cloisters, but even hacking and uprooting trees in the convent gardens; such was the senseless fury of the mob." Mathieson continues: "They (the nobles) had always a considerable body of mercenaries hired with their own and English money." The "rascal multitude" was

the recruiting field, though (according to Lang), "'the rascal multitude' had no fixed theological tenets, but was merely 'against the Government.'" Tytler confirms (V. p. 147): "At the siege of Leith the soldiers of the Congregation clamoured for pay, and, breaking into mutiny, offered their services to any Catholic or Protestant master who would pay them their wages," when messages were sent in hot haste for a supply from England. The rôle played by "the rascal multitude" is passed over lightly by most historians. There were some wise heads in their generation among the nobles, who saw the advantage of enlisting all the vagrants of the country in the cause, only to cast them aside when they were no longer needed. It was necessary to rouse the evil passions of these desperate men. The nobles could hardly do this themselves; but they knew the man who would serve their turn.

D. *The Demagogue.*

The nobles sent for John Knox. He first appears in history as fearlessly bearing the two-handed sword before George Wishart, when this worthy preached surrounded by other men armed to the teeth. To compare small things with great, there is a close resemblance between Knox and two other celebrities in history. Both Mahomet and he imbued their followers with a religious fatalism, and both were apostles of the sword. Knox had not indeed the grandeur of the other, and was a mere tool; but in one respect he

had the advantage. The Arabian prophet could only boast of the one *hegira* or flight to Medina; the five *hegiras* of Knox are the landmarks in his career. The first flight was in 1547 to the castle of St Andrews among the murderers of Cardinal Beaton, neither England nor the Continent being then safe. The castle of St. Andrews was the Pentecostal upper chamber of the new gospel. Here were gathered together, "with one mind in prayer," as Hume Brown says, "a company of assassins displaying a strange commixture of unbridled vice and earnest religious feeling." "All history," adds Cunningham (II. p. 290), "declares that they disgraced the sacred cause, of which they professed to be champions, by brutal immorality." Yet one of the finest passages in M'Crie is where he describes how Knox received his call to the ministry from this crew, after which all "partook of the Lord's table." Released from the French galleys, he spent five years in England under the protection of Edward VI. However, in 1554, as soon as the fires of Smithfield began to blaze under Mary Tudor, he took to flight, and once on the safe side of the channel at Dieppe, says Hume Brown, "at no personal risk he indulged his indignation against her": "May the bellies of dogs be the sepulchre of Jezebel." Having thus relieved his feelings, he passed on to Geneva to sit at the feet of Calvin. This was the second *hegira*. In 1555 he ventured back to Scotland, when the Queen Regent, for purposes of her own, was favouring the Protestant nobles—says Cook (II. p. 6): "having fully ascertained

the strength of his party, Knox received the summons (to come to Scotland) without fear," or as Cunningham puts it: "With these (the Protestant nobles) at his side the Reformer need fear no evil." In 1555 occurred the event when he boldly appeared to stand his trial in Edinburgh, because, according to Lang: "Knox was in fact most valiant when he had armed men at his back," which was then the case. But in the following year, 1556, somehow the armed men did not turn up, and there came the third *hegira*—back to Geneva. Cunningham says: "Both M'Crie and Tytler are of opinion that Knox fled to save his life." The nobles were beginning to get tired of this; and in 1557 again called him over, says Cook (II. p. 24): "assuring him that there was nothing to fear." With considerable hesitation he came as far as Dieppe, but in 1558 returned to Geneva without having set foot in Scotland. Cunningham says: "He did not think it prudent to venture into Scotland." M'Crie laments: "This resolution does not accord with the usual firmness of our Reformer." But that is not all. According to Cook (II. p. 27): "Knox (from Dieppe) strongly condemned the pusillanimity of the nobles: 'ye might hazard your lives.'" But as Lang quotes: "Mr Hume Brown infers that Knox had no particular desire to hazard his own life." And it appears from an authentic letter of Knox, dated 15th March 1558, that he had to defend himself: "If any object that I followed not the counsel which I gave to others, for my fleeing from the country declareth

my fear: I answer I bind no man to my example." However, he did return to Scotland in 1559, when he was absolutely certain of the necessary backing of armed men. For six years he played havoc with perfect safety to himself. His usual biographers admire his manly and dauntless bearing in his interviews with Queen Mary, who was without an honest friend among the Scottish nobles, and was then helpless. Yet the time came when Knox feared the face of woman. In 1566, after the murder of Rizzio, says Cunningham, "Knox fled with the other conspirators, and did not return to Edinburgh till after the seizure of Mary at Carberry Hill." This—the fourth *hegira*—was to Kyle, out of the way, among strong friends. He now would have had a quiet life but for his own imprudence. In 1570 Grange and Lethington were holding Edinburgh Castle for the exiled queen, but they left their old friend in peace in the town below. Knox, however, one day had the ingratitude to call Grange a murderer, which was true enough. Grange at first was furious; but on second thoughts merely sent the following message, according to M'Crie (p. 254): "That he would arraign him (Knox) at the next Assembly, if he was then law-byding (*i.e.* did not flee from justice), and not fugitive according to his accustomed manner." Evidently this was an arrow from Lethington's quiver. Still there was trouble in 1571. Queen Mary's party were on the march to occupy the town of Edinburgh—among them Lord Seton, who had once got the wrong man thrashed within an inch of his life,

but would make no mistake a second time. Says Tytler: "Knox was compelled to make a precipitate retreat" across the Forth. This was the fifth and last *hegira*. He died in the following year, when the regent Morton, with the dry humour of the nation, is said to have pronounced the panegyric: "There lies one who never feared the face of man." Stephen (I. p. 548) quotes David Laing, a devoted admirer of Knox: "On more than one occasion Knox displayed a timidity or shrinking from danger scarcely to be expected from one who boasted of his willingness to endure the utmost torture or suffer death in his Master's cause. Happily, he was not put to the test." Certainly, he took good care never to tempt Providence too far.

It may occur to the reader as strange that the choice of the nobles fell on Knox. But the nobles knew their man; he had just the courage that suited them. Robespierre of the French Revolution was another such. He, too, when unsupported by superior power, was timid and shrank from the face of danger. But, secure on the strength of whatever was the prevailing faction of the hour, he displayed a herculean vigour of eloquence, and his words were like sledge-hammers. Like Knox, who, according to Mathieson, was "honest to the verge of insanity," he, too, was ready to wade through blood to the establishment of his religion of the "Supreme Being." Knox was more fortunate. The power of the nobles, on which his whole courage depended, did not crumble under him; and he was spared the

cowardly death of Robespierre, when, in the presence of the guillotine, according to the word-picture of the great Carlyle, "the jaw fell powerless: there burst from him a cry—hideous to hear and see." Such was the kind of man whom the nobles of Scotland, for their own purposes, reassured of their protection, and let loose on a devoted country. Cunningham sums up (II. p. 353): "Had it not been for the favour of the oligarchy, Knox would have preached in vain, or rather he would never have preached at all. He was unquestionably a great instrument in effecting the Reformation; but we are inclined to regard him as an instrument in the hands of the barons, rather than the barons as instruments in the hands of Knox. Knox had but to preach surrounded by his powerful patrons, and his words were like sledge-hammers. But when he differed from the nobility, he became weak as another man."

III

Every reader of Scottish history knows about the struggle which began in 1558 between the Queen Regent and the nobility—how they appealed to the sword, employing as auxiliaries "the rascal multitude" of vagabonds, too easily roused by the demagogic eloquence of Knox, to break with the Catholic Faith by the systematic destruction of religious buildings—how, when they were on the point of being overwhelmed the internal difficulties of France, and the policy and arms of

England, saved them and left them masters of the situation—and how, in the Convention of 1560, they proscribed the Catholic Faith, and interdicted the saying and hearing of Mass under penalty of confiscation, banishment or death. And yet the people as a whole were Catholic. Lang asks, and himself replies: "During these excesses where were the Catholics of Scotland? As a force they did not exist; they could only move under the nobles, and the nobles were reformers or neutral or intriguers." There were at least two honourable exceptions, Lords Seton and Semple; but they were of the least influential, and what were they among so many? The three magnates who commanded widespread influence were all on the side of the revolution. The head of the house of Hamilton had again turned Protestant, and was being flattered by the offer of the marriage of his son, the Earl of Arran, to Queen Elizabeth herself. Argyll, taking time by the forelock, had already quietly secured his share of the booty, including the three islands of Iona, Lismore and Tiree. But—worst of all—the great potentate of the north turned traitor to the Faith which he still professed. Says Hill Burton: "Huntly played a deep game with the lords of the Congregation for a large share in the ecclesiastical estates so profusely distributed." According to Cook, in July 1559 the Queen Regent was on the point of crushing the revolutionaries once and for all, when Huntly traitorously advised an accommodation, and saved them. Lang continues: "Deserting the Queen Regent, Huntly

joined in the siege of Leith. He stated his opinion thus: The nobles of the north with the Highlanders and Islesmen were in pact with the French to defend the auld manner of religion, and he dreaded an attack from them. He wished also to be confirmed in his local authority, almost that of a viceroy." There can be no doubt that if Huntly had been true and had brought down, as he easily could have done, the whole strength of the north to turn the balance in favour of the Queen Regent at Perth in 1558, there would have been no revolution of 1560. Four years afterwards, when it was too late, he made a head in the north, but it was against his sovereign who with reason could never trust him. A very different man was his grandson, who led the Scottish "Pilgrimage of Grace" over thirty years later.

The composition of the Convention in 1560 is striking. Of the greater nobles present there were only three who were true to the profession of the Catholic Faith. There were a hundred lesser barons, all eager to secure the parish revenues of their districts for an inheritance. Of the ecclesiastical estate there were twenty abbots and priors, as Stephen says, "most of them mere laymen, who had all tasted the sweets of ecclesiastical plunder, and were no doubt already anticipating their permanent heritages." Of the bishops only six were present, of whom three were either mere laymen or never consecrated. In an assembly like this all argument or defence of the Faith was useless; and the present writer does not see what else the three Catholic bishops, the three Catholic

lords and the one Catholic abbot—seven all told—could have done to any purpose than to protest, and plead for delay till the queen (still in France) should call a lawful parliament of the whole realm. Huntly (such as he was) and other Catholic nobles of the north did not attend, and only a fraction of the lesser barons were present. It is evident that Archbishop Hamilton considered the success of the revolution to be only momentary. The Protestant faction were of the same opinion, and certainly felt themselves very insecure. It was only a succession of unforeseen events that enabled them to hold their ground.

In the Convention of 1560 Knox had enough to say; but the nobles just listened to what suited them, and very effectually made him keep his place. Of three demands made by him, one they agreed to, another they scouted as preposterous, and the third they adopted in a way that was far from pleasing to him. They allowed him his full bent in drawing up the creed of the new gospel; if he had given them at once Mahometanism pure and simple, it would have been all one to nine out of any ten of them. Knox's second demand that the property of the Catholic Church should be handed over to the ministers of the new gospel was treated as simply ridiculous, or, as Lethington said, "a devout imagination." Cunningham (II. p. 389) regrets that "the Protestant clergy were too helpless when they came to divide the spoil with the strong." But suppose that the nobles had by a miracle of God's grace repented to make restitution, would they have

tolerated Knox for a moment? He had not the sense to see that, in Lang's words, "the very thoroughness of the robbery was the protection of the Kirk." At a tercentenary celebration of this revolution in 1860 a minister with a sense of humour "wondered at the absence of so many, whose ancestors had got the great retaining fee." But it did not occur to him that the ancestors and the Kirk had long ago been quits. The third demand of Knox was that the Catholic clergy should be slaughtered like the priests of Baal, and that the Catholics, as being idolaters, should be exterminated like the Canaanites from the face of the land. It is a pity this course had not been followed. The great majority of the people were Catholic; but, betrayed by their natural leaders, they were without cohesion or organization. However, a war of extermination like this would have roused them, and would have raised a new Wallace from the very necessity of defending their lives. But there were wiser heads than that of Knox guiding the destinies of the revolution. They laughed at the idolatry argument, Lethington telling him that he did not know what he was talking about when he called the Mass idolatry. The nobles knew as well as Knox that the only hope lay in persecution, or, as M'Crie puts it (p. 177), "that the toleration of Popish worship was only a step to its re-establishment." But they took their own way about it. They would not hear of the death penalty being carried out, though they placed it *in terrorem* on their Statute Book. As Lang says: "The Convention

of 1560 was wise in its generation. There were to be no showy martyrdoms, but there was to be an unceasing strain on conscience and belief. All Catholics had to choose between the loss of lands and goods and native country, or loss of conscience and honour." This was the way the great majority of the people was to be converted to the new gospel.

The ruling faction proceeded with great caution, and the course of events, both in England and on the Continent, continued to favour them. It was in their favour too that the sovereign who came to them was a woman—and, as Robertson says, "a stranger to her subjects, without experience, without allies, and almost without a friend," who had to place herself under the guidance of men without honour or truth. As Tytler continues: "When we consider the fearful elements by which she was surrounded—craft, cruelty and fanaticism in their worst shapes—it is difficult to withhold our pity." Yet such was the force of her character and influence that by 1564 she had taken effectual steps to remove the slavery that weighed on the great majority of her subjects. But "the incorrigible folly" of her husband, Darnley, made it possible for the nobles to defeat her purpose, and in the end to dethrone herself. The admitted purpose of the murder of Rizzio was "the security of the Protestant religion." This was followed by Darnley's own murder, to which the whole Protestant faction was privy, encouraging Bothwell to commit the crime, only to disown him after the event. This is not the

place to defend Queen Mary ; but for the present purpose it is enough to say that on any supposition the words of Hosack remain true : " It was only necessary to destroy the reputation of their queen in order to secure the triumph of the ruling faction for many years." Even Robertson admits (I. Bk. iv. p. 361) : " These events left, in the opinion of foreigners, a mark of infamy on the character of the nation. The Scots were held in abhorrence all over Europe, and they durst hardly appear anywhere in public ; and after suffering so many atrocious deeds to pass with impunity, they were universally reproached as men void of courage or humanity, as equally regardless of the reputation of their queen and the honour of their country." Thus the Protestant faction deprived their countrymen of their character long before they were able to deprive them of their Faith.

There was now once more an infant sovereign. According to Lang (II. p. 477) : " James VI. was thrown as a yearling child into the perfidy and anarchy of Scotland in an atmosphere of universal falsehood and treachery." After he came of age, the king for a time entertained a sincere desire to give toleration to his Catholic subjects, but he had not the courage of his mother. Once, when he ventured to hint at his intention, Lord Hamilton exclaimed three times : " Then are we all gone, then are we all gone, then are we all gone ? " As Lang explains (p. 375) : " Grant toleration, and then we are all gone—the Kirk and the lay holders of Church lands would be swamped and

lost in the reaction." The known intention of James to carry out his design explains the Raid of Ruthven and other revolutions which took place to get a hold of his person. However, after he became a pensioner of Elizabeth, with an eye to the English succession through her ministers, his whole policy changed, and there followed a severer application of the penal laws. This led to the rising in the north, with the victory of Glenlivet in 1594; but it was now too late. If Huntly's grandfather had raised the north thirty-six years earlier, it would have had its response in the south; but in 1594 a union of forces was far less possible; and, as Grub says, "the Catholics did not venture to come forward openly in defence of their religion."

"In tracing a great politico-religious movement like this," says Cunningham (II. p. 278): "it is strange to remark how the base mingles with the noble, and vice leagues herself with virtue, and how God overrules all, making the very wrath and selfishness of men to praise Him." Or as Tytler explains (VII. p. 331): "It appears to me that on many occasions he (Knox) acted on the principle that the end justifies the means." The "gaunt and hungry nobles of Scotland" could have found some other way of accomplishing their purpose without Knox. But Knox could not have got what he wanted without them. In fact, he owes his very existence to them. While he acted on the principle that the end justifies the means their principle was that the means justifies the end. These two principles were the warp and

woof of what Cunningham calls "the great politico-religious movement" of 1560.

IV

The present writer has been asked how the priesthood of 1560 did not make a better stand for the Faith, there being no glorious roll of martyrs as in England; and no wonder that the people fell away without a struggle. The supposition underlying this question has been sufficiently rebutted; but it now remains to vindicate the honour of the Catholic priesthood of 1560, and to explain the sad case of the people in the third generation afterwards.

A. *The Priesthood of* 1560.

All the evidence goes to show that in 1560 the Catholic clergy were, in the great majority, and in a large proportion also a learned body of men. Nothing could be farther from the truth than the assertion that they accepted the new gospel wholesale. The lay abbots and priors went over, at least nominally; so also did "the scions" of the landed gentry, in order to secure the revenues of parishes into which they had been foisted as the rectors without any cure of souls. But they were a mere fraction of the clergy, to which name most of them had no right. After the revolution the priests of Scotland come under two classes, those connected with the universities and the

higher schools, who swarmed over to the Continent, and those who remained at home. Of the latter there is historical evidence that a few accepted the new ministry; and it is from this fact that a generalization is usually made against all the rules of induction, as well as against the direct evidence to the contrary, that in 1589—twenty-nine years after the revolution—there were priests all over the country "saying Mass." Even the much-abused monks remained as a body true to the Faith. Whole communities transported themselves abroad to Catholic countries. In 1562, according to Cunningham (II. p. 386): "the queen allotted £1018 for distribution among a multitude of houseless monks," and £754 "to a number of nuns sent adrift," these sums having then at least ten times the purchasing value of to-day. All the contemporary records abroad speak highly of the exiled priests. Thus, in 1581, Fr. Tyrie, S.J., refers to them as being numerous in Paris alone, and as "men of high character and admirable learning." Nor are we to suppose for a moment that the far greater body of priests who remained at home keeping the Faith alive "in the great majority of the people," were one whit behind their brethren abroad in "high character." There were indeed scandals "in the high places" and among the "lay" clergy, who disgraced the Faith they deserted to bring little credit to the religion they nominally embraced: and even some of the true clergy were not spotless. But, as Hill Burton says (III. p. 308): "the rare and solitary crime was spread over a wide area,

and from an individuality became a generality." Mackintosh appeals to the Statutes of the Scottish Church; but his inference is very illogical. To take a parallel instance: in 1596 the General Assembly of the Kirk referred to "the corruptions and enormities of the ministry." Not even the present writer would infer that all the ministers, or half of them, or even one-tenth of them, were guilty of corruptions and enormities. The crying sins of the few call for legislation, which has to speak in general terms, and thus are apt to cast an unmerited slur on the many.

Another illogical inference of the same sort is: "Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism tells the clergy to prepare their reading of it well, lest they be jeered at by the people; therefore the Catholic clergy of 1560 were an ignorant body of men." Nor need a man be ignorant to get that advice. As to the learning of the great proportion of the Catholic clergy, the recent work of Fr. Forbes Leith, *Pre-Reformation Scholars in Scotland during the Sixteenth Century*, gives a list, admittedly far from exhaustive, of one thousand university graduates among all classes of the clergy, including vicars of parishes and chaplains. It was the clergy who taught in the many grammar and other high schools all over the country, as well as in the universities. For years before 1560 the clergy overflowed into the seats of learning on the Continent, not only as pupils, but as teachers. And it is never to be forgotten that the learning of Scotland did not accept the new gospel. One or two, indeed, of the learned clergy did conform,

like Winram, whom Lang calls "the Scottish 'Vicar of Bray.'" But the vast majority remained true to the Faith. Cunningham (II. p. 486) remarks that so late as 1596 "the body of learned men from whom alone the clergy (*i.e.* the Protestant) could be chosen was still extremely small." And Lang adds (II. p. 403): "It proves the slender hold of Calvinism on the higher intelligences of the country."

But, it will be asked: If there was so much learning among the clergy, why did they not stand up in defence of the Faith? They did so. In modern histories the usually mentioned champions are two—Ninian Winzet (whose book, says Lang, "remains unanswered to this day") and Quintin Kennedy; but, as Stephen observes, "they were not the only, though they were the chief defenders of the Roman Church." There were John Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig, "one of the sturdiest opponents of the reformers"; Black, a Dominican friar; Thomas Robinson, Rector of Paisley Grammar School; not to speak of the Rector and Regents of Aberdeen University, who went to Edinburgh in 1561 to defend the Faith, after which it is significant that they were inhibited from preaching to the people. There must have been many other unrecorded defenders of the Faith to confirm "the great majority of the people" in holding steadfastly to it for nearly two generations. However, learning could hardly be expected to overturn a revolution of robbers and fanatics.

But it will be urged: Why did they not at least seal their faith with their blood? They would

reply: Would to God we had been allowed to do so! They were often enough actually condemned to die; but, as has been said, wiser heads than that of Knox would have it otherwise for a deeper and more effective plan. Yet there were martyrs even in Scotland, and Fr. John Ogilvie was not the only one, nor the first. Stephen records: "Thomas Robinson (the above defender of the Faith), formerly master of the school at Paisley, suffered death for saying Mass." According to the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, a contemporary document: "On this day, 4th May 1574, a priest was hanged in Glasgow for saying Mass." Honest Cunningham exclaims (II. p. 501): "No monumental stone marks this man's grave; his very name has been suffered to perish. But was he not a martyr to his faith?" Friar Black (also a defender of the Faith) may also be accounted one; for he was slain on the night of Rizzio's murder, the assassins including him in their stride. But even earlier, several monks (now nameless) were butchered by the "rascal multitude." The Church accounts as martyrs such as have died from the effects of torture and imprisonment: several priests died martyrs in this way, and times without number priests were confessors of the Faith, "imprisoned and banished from the kingdom."

B. *The People of* 1560 *and Afterwards.*

As long as the old priesthood of 1560 remained, the "great majority of the people" continued

steadfast to the Catholic Faith. But, as the old clergy gradually died out, there was no means of adequately filling their places. There were no longer bishops at home, and the secular priests who could be ordained abroad, with the Jesuits added, were a mere handful. And now the plan of the organized minority could have every prospect of success. Their emissaries, usually ministers of the Kirk, watched every port and the borders to prevent the entrance of "Jesuits and seminary priests." Those, who in spite of everything made an entrance, were systematically hunted down, kept in prison usually for six months to undermine their strength, and then banished from the country. Some of them time after time returned, only to be again and again shipped across sea. To take the year 1610, for example: according to Stephen: "John Hamilton, a rector of Paris University, was seized in Scotland and imprisoned in the Tower of London, where he died in 1610. Robert Creighton was sentenced to be hanged at the market cross of Edinburgh, but after six months' imprisonment he was banished for life. Two Scottish Jesuits, Anderson and Moffat, were treated in the same way." And from a letter of the above Fr. Anderson in Forbes Leith's *Narratives of the Scottish Catholics*: "Several worthy secular priests (*i.e.* those the good Father happened to meet) are in Scotland. Two of them, Andrew Creighton and Roger Lindsay, were apprehended (in 1610), and after suffering imprisonment, sentenced to perpetual banishment." The critical period was the first quarter

of the seventeenth century, when James I. was trying to reconcile the Presbyterian Kirk to episcopacy, and as a sop to Cerberus, gave the ministers the amplest aid of the civil power to exclude Catholic priests from Scotland. These were the days of the "diligence committees," and so effectual was their operation that one year there was only one priest in the whole Lowlands. How this want of priests affected the people will be better understood if the three generations after 1560 are taken one by one.

The number of adult Scotsmen who accepted the new gospel from any sort of conviction was extremely small. However, during the period from 1560 to 1585, there was a far greater number of those whom Lang calls "the indifferents" to any religion, including most of the nobles and the "lay" clergy, as well as "the rascal multitude" who had no fixed religious views, and were quite ready to turn and fight for the "auld faith" if they only got their pay. However, the fanatics and the indifferents, taken together, were but a small minority of the nation.

During the period from 1585 to 1610 the number of Catholics passed gradually from being "the great majority" to being only "a majority" of the people, and finally to being "great multitudes." It was now that the want of priests began to be felt, while the application of the penal laws became more and more vigorous. Mackintosh says: "The zeal of the Protestant clergy against the Catholics was intense and implacable." His words *zeal against* are, perhaps unwittingly,

well chosen. Their method of conversion was excommunication, which, if it had ended there, would only have been laughed at. But it carried with it civil outlawry and the confiscation of all property. According to a contemporary document, *Sir James Melville's Diary*, the French ambassador reported that in this respect the fate of the Scottish Catholics was more pitiable than that of the English Catholics. In England non-attendance at heretical worship could be met by monthly fines, and the poorer Catholics were generally left unmolested. Not so in Scotland; non-attendance at the kirk meant loss of all goods at once to rich and poor alike. Crofters and cottars were turned adrift to live on charity or to perish on the moors. The only escape was exile, which was an impossibility for the many. "What shall we say," asks the honest Cunningham (II. p. 523), "of the sad alternative presented to tens of thousands of renouncing their religion or their country—a lifelong hypocrisy or a lifelong exile? the sword or the Koran, banishment or Presbytery." And as Lang continues: "Our historians never say much on this head; all these persecutions are glided over noiselessly." It cannot be denied that under the pressure of this "unceasing strain on the consciences of Catholics" a large number conformed externally—"crypto-Catholics" Lang calls them—ready to do penance for their apostacy on the first opportunity. Only, as for the reason already given, priests became fewer and fewer, the opportunities for reconciliation to the Faith came seldom or never.

Yet at the beginning of the third generation (1610) there still remained "multitudes of Catholics," either protected by their friends among the "crypto-Catholics," or "wandering in deserts, in mountains and in dens and caves of the earth" (Hebrews xii. 38). This was the crucial time when the "diligence committees" of the Kirk were able to reduce the number of priests to spiritual starvation point. As their parents died out, the children of the third generation dropped off unconsciously from the Faith for want of priests and the necessary succours of their holy religion. Only in the northern Highlands and Islands, in certain districts of the Lowlands, and among individuals scattered all over the country, was the Faith surviving by the middle of the seventeenth century. And thus ends the sad history of how "the Scottish people was robbed of the Faith."

CHAPTER VI

THE NATIONAL NIGHTMARE

FEW Scotsmen nowadays care to dwell on Knox's new gospel as in itself true, for the good reason that few Scotsmen any longer believe in it. It is rather to what are supposed to have been the beneficial results on the national character that glowing appeals are made. The revolution of 1560 is declared to have been the dawn of civil and religious liberty. It has been described as "the emergence from mediævalism giving promise, in rainbow colouring across a storm-swept sky, of the advent of the modern world and the fertility of the modern spirit." It has been called "a long and resolute step in the upward path of light and liberty." It is passing strange that men of intelligence like Story and Macewen should try to palm off such nonsense on the world, when everybody can see writ large on the face of history the well-known national nightmare, from the effects of which the country even yet has not fully recovered.

The following writers direct attention to the obvious from various points of view :—

Cunningham, *Church History of Scotland* (1859), Vols. II., III.

Lindsay, *A History of the Reformation.*
Mitchell, *The Scottish Reformation.*
Story, *Apostolic Ministry in the Scottish Church.*
Howie, *Scots Worthies.*
Wodrow Publications : *James Melville's Diary ; Select Biographies ; Wodrow's Correspondence.*
Niven, *The Church from the Revolution to the Present time.*
Hume Brown, *History of Scotland* (1911), Vols. II. and III.
Hill Burton, *History of Scotland* (1876), Vols. V., VI., VII., VIII.
Lang, *History of Scotland* (1902-7), Vols. II., III. and IV.
Mackintosh, *History of Civilization in Scotland* (1880), Vol. II.
Buckle, *History of Civilization* (1885), Vol. III.
Munro, *Calvinism in its relations to Scripture and Reason.*

I

THE ACCESSION OF THE NIGHTMARE

The evil, which was to reach its full development seventy years later, owed its origin to the new gospel of Knox. A great measure of Catholic teaching was retained by him, but it all fell into the background as compared with what was characteristic of his religious system, which may be reduced to three heads. The whole sacramental doctrine of the Church was scouted, and the denial culminated in what amounted to an obsession that the Mass was idolatry. The power of God in daily exercise was to give place to the power of the devil in the minds of the people.

The rise of trials for witchcraft that succeeded the revolution of 1560 is a remarkable fact. As Mackintosh says (II. p. 325): "Probably the sudden shaking and the suppression of the traditions and the notions of the people at the Reformation had tended to arouse and revive other notions of the demoniac order. Witches soon became numerous." The second element was the blasphemous conception of God involved in the introduction of Calvinism. It was a parody of the Divine Sovereignty, which begot the strange contradiction, also seen in the Moslem world, of fatalism on the one hand, and on the other hand of what Story calls "that character of hard-heartedness and uncharitableness, of Puritanic austerity and self-righteousness which has too long infected the religion of Scotland" (p. 234). The third characteristic of the new gospel was its Old Testament atmosphere; its ideas and methods were not those of Our Lord and His Apostles, but of the times when the Canaanites had to be exterminated from the face of the land, or the enemies of God hewed to pieces like Agag. Queen Mary, asked one day to name a child for baptism, at once with grim humour dubbed him Habacuc, as suitable for the new era. Andrew Melville, asked for his credentials as the ambassador of God, at once "clanked down" on the table his Hebrew Bible; the New Testament did not serve his turn. Knox outdid all the old Hebrew prophets taken together in the number of his predictions, which were invariably, after the manner of the "bald-head" prophet, "curs-

ing in the name of the Lord." The chances were that he would nearly hit the mark now and again; and these happy predictions are a valuable asset of M'Crie. Such was the new gospel; it was a strange medley which, as Hume Brown says, "to a large extent would have been unrecognizable by any writer either in the Old or New Testament." Yet the new teachers arrogated to themselves in full the gift of infallibility, and no one had the right to bring in a still newer evangel. They chased Brown, said to have been the father of the Independents, out of the country for telling them that they had no Bible warrant; but, as will be seen, the day was to come when the Independents were "to heap coals of fire on their heads."

However, for over fifty years the new gospel was not swallowed by any great body of the people. The Highlands and Isles were altogether free of its influence. It was not till the first quarter of the seventeenth century was well advanced that the peasantry of the Lowlands were to any great extent affected. The towns had succumbed earlier, as far as appearances went; but even so late as 1593 the minister Davidson declared that he "feared the multitude of Edinburgh"—evidently dreading another massacre of St Bartholomew, from which Lang infers that the citizens were then still largely Catholic. An interesting light is thrown on the state of matters about 1630 by the account of the deathbed of Lord Kenmure. His sister was a Catholic married to the Catholic Lord Herries. His wife was a daughter of the convert Earl of Argyll, who had

three other daughters, nuns in Brussels. Lady Kenmure, however, like her brother "Grumach," followed the new light. The reported words of the dying Kenmure are full of Catholic phraseology, and he insisted on making a detailed confession of the sins of his whole life, the hearing of which horrified the minister. When the others came again into the room where he lay, he asked the minister to go apart and pray for him, but was told by his wife to take Christ as his only Mediator. However, he made up for it by adjuring Lord Herries to free himself from the entanglements of the Scarlet Woman, while he challenged his sister to say that he was not dying a happy death. Even this incident shows the hold which the Catholic Faith still retained on the national mind. The fact is, that at any time within the first forty years after the revolution of 1560, the new gospel could as easily have been cast down as it was set up by the nobles, on whom the destinies of the country depended. There was little love lost between them and the new teachers, but it was their interest to support the new religious system as the cheapest commodity. While "it would be difficult to find in the Christian world men with less religion or more ruffianism," yet, according to Hill Burton (V. p. 461), "the determined pertinacity of the hold maintained by powerful men in Scotland over the revenues of the old Church made them ever ready to show a combined front against any national measure likely to assail their personal interests." It is significant that bare toleration to Catholics was

the danger from their multitude; as Lord Hamilton said to the king, "Then are we all gone." But after all danger appeared to have been removed when James went entirely over to the Protestant interest, and after a wholesale erection had been made of temporal lordships out of the old ecclesiastical lands, the nobles left the ministers to themselves to squabble with the king as best they could. Even before his accession to the English throne he soon had his own way with them, always within Protestant lines. It is evident that they were still far from being favourites with the general body of the people. As Hill Burton, referring to the year 1605 (V. p. 432), says: "to contend with the Crown required an overwhelming popularity, and they (the ministers) had very little." This is borne out by the contemporary Jesuit letters attesting the great number of Catholics that still held out, and the hope of others for the restoration of the old Faith. But now it was that the whole power of the Crown, strengthened by the English succession, was thrown into the task of extinguishing that Faith. The persecution of Catholics became, if possible, more relentless under the episcopal government of the Kirk. This was the critical time when the priesthood of 1560 had died out, and the new priests available from colleges abroad were systematically kept out of the country. By the year 1630 a whole generation had grown up without Mass and the Sacraments, and was ready in a time of national excitement to fall a prey to the fanaticism of the hour.

If Charles I. had only let well alone, in all human probability the country could have settled down permanently under the mild episcopal form of the Kirk introduced by his father. But two acts of the new king raised the storm by attacking two deep-seated instincts of human nature. The first was the Act of Revocation, affecting, as Hume Brown says (II., pp. 286-7) "the bulk of the property of the pre-Reformation Church. . . . This step threw the majority of the nobles on the side of the Presbyterian clergy, and thus renewed the alliance which in the period of the Reformation had been so disastrous to the Crown. . . . There must have been few families in Scotland whom it did not materially affect." Their interests were in deadly peril, and they again showed "the combined front." The other was the introduction of Laud's liturgy, which, in view of all the circumstances attending it, was considered a dictation from England, and roused the patriotism of the people into fury. The ministers of Presbyterian principles were the victims, and now for the first time became really popular in the whole Lowlands south and east of the Grampians. The famous Covenant became the emblem of national independence from English interference, and drew within its net multitudes who would otherwise have been indifferent. Now, for the first time, could it be said that the peasantry of Scotland to any extent gave adherence to the new gospel. As Hill Burton says (VI. p. 187): "the Presbyterian standards made more progress during three years (1636-8) than they had made in the previous

seventy." The king was known to be in difficulties with his recalcitrant English parliament, and the king was defied in the Glasgow Assembly of 1638, largely composed of the nobles as elders. According to the same writer (VI. p. 225): "They (the ministers) could not be blind to the reason why the office (of lay-elder) was wanted for a haughty and proud nobility, many of them profligate livers, fighting their own personal battle for their preservation of the old ecclesiastical estates. But it was in such men that the strength of the Assembly lay." The nobles and gentry, too, fanned the enthusiasm of the common people south and east of the Grampians. As it happened, the English parliament in its struggle with the king needed the help of the Scots, and to the utmost gratification of the latter swore to the Scottish Covenant. As Cunningham says (III. pp. 129-137): "the English Parliamentary leaders secured the assistance of Scotland by flattering its ambition." This was no less than to force at the point of the sword the evangel of the Covenant on all England and Ireland, and then on the world. The result was that "the government of Scotland at this period (1638-50) approximated very closely to a theocracy." The nobles had roused a fanaticism beyond their power to control, and the Presbyterian ministers now dictated to the Estates and ruled the land. They told the king that they "would rather renounce their Baptism than their Covenant" (Cunningham, III. p. 91). It was the gospel of Knox that now for the first time really inflamed

any large body of the Scottish people. There was the same hatred of the Mass, and Catholics during these twelve years passed through a terrible ordeal. Calvinism took a wider hold of the country; and, as Cunningham puts it, "the Old Testament epoch seemed to have revived in our country. Religion was dominant in the national mind, but it was not the religion of the Gospel. The Covenant helped to make notions narrow already, narrower still. The Scottish nation got drunk with blood under the banners of the Covenant." The pamphlets of the time are an echo of the Old Testament prophets in their most fiery denunciations of vengeance and doom. One of these bears the remarkable title of *Issachar's Ass braying under a Double Burden*; of ninety-nine scriptural quotations eighty-four are taken from the Old Testament, and only fifteen from the New. Macaulay, in regard to other specimens, goes so far as to doubt seriously whether the writers had ever heard of the New Testament. The opponents of the Covenant were called the "bloody malignants" with such persistency that the adjective has passed into the currency of forcible language to this day. Thus passed twelve years of glorious frenzy.

But the triumph could not last. As soon as Charles I. was defeated beyond hope of recovery, England had enough of the Covenant, and told the Scots to mind their own business. Then there arose a prophet in the Scottish Israel, who predicted that for this breach of faith "Englishmen should be made spectacles to all nations, and the

judgments of England shall be so great that a man shall ride fifty miles before he hear a cock crow." Howie (p. 199), who records this prediction, adds: "Though this may not have had yet its full accomplishment, yet the Lord will not alter the word that has gone out of his mouth." However, in the meantime it was Scotsmen who were to be made "spectacles to all nations." In 1650 came Cromwell, and held Scotland under his heel in a way that no king of England had ever been able to do. While to the country generally it was the greatest humiliation which the nation had ever experienced, this domination for nine years under the English Commonwealth was gall and wormwood to the Covenanters for another reason. They were split up among themselves into two bitterly opposed factions, whose impotent bickerings must have amused the invaders; yet, as Hill Burton says, "both parties had a hearty horror of the new doctrine of toleration." To them the Cromwellians were "the bloody and blasphemous sectaries." The blasphemy after all merely amounted to the opinion that, where you have jarring sects set up by men, the only sensible course is to live, and let live. As Hume Brown explains, "the Independents (*i.e.* Cromwellians) left the individual to his own construction of the Bible and to his own spiritual affinities." To their mind, anybody else as well as Knox had a perfect right to set up a new sect, if he was able, and to call it the Church of Christ, if he pleased. Accordingly, Cromwell was kind enough in his own way to the subject nation. Even the

Scottish Catholics had, comparatively speaking, a quieter time, or at least were treated with some form of impartial justice. The first prefect of the Mission, Ballantyne, even found protection from Thurlow, Cromwell's secretary, who set him at liberty and paid his expenses. This humanity was altogether beyond the ideas and practice of those whom the Lord Protector called sarcastically " the sons of Jacob." The only failure of his life was his attempt to exorcise the spirit of the Covenant. His letters, published by Carlyle, show that he first tried persuasion to bring the Presbyterian ministers to reason, beginning with his celebrated words : " I beseech you in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken . . . there may be a Covenant made with Death and Hell " ; though he added, to leave room for amicable discussion : " I will not say (*i.e.* meantime) that yours was so." His main purpose was to drive into the Covenanting brain some elementary idea of civil and religious liberty : " Ministers have liberty to preach the Gospel, though not to rail, nor under pretence thereof to overtop the Civil Power, or debase it as they please." James VI. had told them the same thing, but he was not Cromwell. Again : " We (Independents) look on ministers as helpers of, not lords over, God's people. I appeal to their (the ministers'), conscience whether any person trying their doctrine, and dissenting, shall not incur the censure of sectary ? But what is this but to deny Christians their liberty, and assume the Infallible Chair ? " Cromwell was amused at

being called a sectary by sectaries. But it was of no use arguing, and he had recourse to more drastic measures. To their horror the ministers saw these new unhallowed sectaries mount the Scottish pulpits to wield the sword of the Spirit; yet it is recorded that the people were much edified. Frequently a Cromwellian sergeant would sit on the very stool of repentance, not, however, to repent of anything, but, like a bishop on his throne, to listen to the minister, and in case need be to order him down to give place to one of his own troopers endowed with the gift of tongues. The General Assembly of the Kirk was suppressed in 1653 by Colonel Cotterell under orders. They told him that they "meddled not with civil affairs." He was for a moment staggered by the audacity of the lie, but only for a moment, when he gave them a bit of his mind, the summary of which was that they "had the wyte of all the sorrows of Scotland." As Stephen says (II. p. 173): "Their pulpit vituperations and summary excommunications had become an intolerable tyranny, destructive alike of the civil and religious liberty of the people."

By the year of the Restoration (1660) "the old spirit was completely broken, or at least bent to the ground, and they had come down from the high ground they once occupied; the ten years of bitters (under Cromwell) had given to their feelings a more healthy tone." So speaks Cunningham about the ministers (III. p. 177). As for the people, their thoughts for the time were carried away into another channel by the joy at the

recovery of the national independence. The result was that the greater part of the country, even south and east of the Grampians, acquiesced in ignoring the Covenant under a restored episcopal rule. Not so, however, a determined section in the south-western shires; there the old spirit soon revived as fierce and implacable as ever. It is a matter of opinion whether it would not have been wiser for the Government of Charles II. to have left this remnant severely alone. Their frenzy would gradually have evaporated in the general apathy, and their field preachings would have dwindled away in a generation from their very discomfort. But it was resolved to coerce them into obedience to law and order, and this is called the heroic period of the Covenanters. They fought for liberty as they understood it; that is, if they had got liberty for themselves, they would have given no liberty to others to think or act differently from themselves. Nor was mercy in the catalogue of their virtues. "At Bothwell Brig, anticipating victory and prisoners, they had cart-loads of ropes piled around a gigantic gibbet" (Stephen, II. p. 387). They fought on till the remnant became smaller and smaller, and the Old Testament atmosphere became thicker and thicker, till the imitation of the old prophets reached the height of absurdity. Richard Cameron foretold that "the Lord would lift up a standard against Antichrist which would go to the gates of Rome, and burn it with fire, and that 'blood' should be their sign and 'no quarter' their word." The last of the prophets

was Alexander Peden, called familiarly "Auld Sandy," who outdid even Knox in the multitude of his predictions. He was particularly hard on the female sex. A girl, who had accused him, hanged herself in the very place where he had prayed; another girl, only fourteen years old, had laughed at him—she was whisked off a cliff by a gust of wind into a raging sea; a servant girl, to whom he had taken umbrage, was burned alive (as then was the custom) at Carrickfergus. It may be said that the Covenant, as a fighting force in carnal warfare, burst up meteor-like in a shower of prophecies (Howie, pp. 427-507).

The Covenant was the logical and legitimate outcome of the Revolution of 1560. Anything more unlike "the upward path of light and liberty" or "the fertility of the modern spirit" could not possibly be conceived. It followed a "Will-o'-the-wisp," and its whole mentality on the practical side as affecting the national development was a spurious Judaism. If it was "an emergence from mediævalism," it was not a progression in the direction of "the modern world," but a retrogression to the age of Joshua. Scotsmen in Catholic times, and also for a short period after 1560, thanks to Catholic times, held their own for intelligence among the peoples; but little can be said for the intelligence of Scotsmen in the seventeenth century. Even their standards of belief, the Westminster Confession and the catechisms, were the product of Englishmen, as was also their translation of the Bible. Scotsmen can take little credit for the beauty of the language

in the latter, and for the logical acumen supposed to be displayed in the former. At most they muddled their heads with the Calvinism of Knox presented to them in a more intelligible form by the genius of another people. What strikes one on reading the productions of the period is that the sense of humour appears to have become wholly extinct. There is, indeed, unconscious humour, but it palls from its very abundance. Nor can it be said that the national character was improved. Scotsmen under Wallace and Bruce were every bit as brave and dogged as the Covenanters; but they were not a soured race . . . "the hearts wizened in the breists o' them wi' pride and diveenity." If this spirit had prevailed in fashioning the destinies of the country, or, as Cunningham (III., pp. 140-154) words it, "if Presbytery had prevailed, it is not likely that freedom of religious opinion would even yet have been known." But, fortunately, Cromwell arose to smite and scatter them: "The Independents knew that if its foot (*i.e.* of the Covenant) were planted in the land, bonds, confiscation of goods and exile awaited them." Again, the mentality induced by the Revolution of 1560 did not contain the remotest idea of civil liberty as now understood. The nobles for their own selfish interests, and the Covenanters for the Covenant, fought against the Crown; but to call this fighting for civil liberty is only a travesty of words. The thing itself was, according to Hume Brown, "the gradual growth of the secular spirit, evolved from irreconcilable contradictions"; or rather, the very

idea of it came from England, and very slowly took hold of the Scottish mind. It was from the Catholic Schoolmen that the patriots, Algernon Sydney and Sir Robert Filmer, drew their arguments for "popular liberty." It was only a matter of recovering the civil freedom that existed in the times of "Mediævalism." As Macaulay says (Essay on *Hallam*): "The Constitution of England was only one of a large family. In all the monarchies of Western Europe during the Middle Ages there existed restraints on the royal authority, fundamental laws and representative assemblies. In the fifteenth century the government of Castile seems to have been as free as that of our own country. That of Aragon was unquestionably more so. In France the sovereign was more absolute; yet even in France the States-General alone could constitutionally impose taxes."

II

THE RECOVERY FROM THE NIGHTMARE

Long before the Revolution of 1688 the intelligence of the country had realized that the Covenant was, in the words of Rankin, "a delusion and a snare." With the advent of William of Orange, there being no longer any fear for their own interests, the nobles and higher gentry deserted it to a man. Accordingly, it was an easy task for the politicians of the time to effect what is called

the Revolution Settlement of the Kirk. On the one hand, the rule of bishops was finally cast off "as not agreeable to the feelings of the people." The ministers of episcopalian principles formed themselves into a separate body, which was now free to indulge in a liturgy even more pronounced than that of Laud for their own exclusive use. They were a mere chip from the Presbyterian block, and carried few of the common people with them. On the other hand, the Revolution Settlement was not by any means all that could have been desired by the Presbyterian ministers. It ignored the Covenant, and for that reason the wild Covenanters of the south-west would have nothing to do with it, and held aloof. In 1700 the minister, Dickson, lamented the inferior glory of this second temple: "We have the shell, but want the kernel . . . the former respect for the Covenant is like gradually to dwine away under a consumption." It certainly took time, and the course of the recovery from the nightmare divides itself roughly into three periods.

FROM 1690 TO 1760

For a generation after 1690 ministers generally were still thoroughly imbued with the Covenanting spirit, and their attitude of mind was that of the palmy days of 1638. But they had not the same power of doing mischief, as very soon their excommunication was deprived of its only sting, that of bringing on civil outlawry and other penalties. Catholics were indeed still at their

mercy, as they watched with right good will to make sure that the penal laws were rigorously enforced. But the Quakers, Independents, Episcopalians and others now escaped their clutches. In vain did the Kirk declare in 1703 that "toleration was the establishment of iniquity by law." In vain did the Kirk in 1712 send a deputation, headed by Carstares, to enlighten Parliament in London that "they could not brook within the bounds of Scotland any form of worship but their own." Parliament was more moved by the declaration of an English officer that they had interfered with the chaplain of his regiment—an indignity which he had never experienced in any Catholic land where he had been stationed. If the Kirk groaned under the disability, in Cunningham's phrase, "to concuss the consciences" of others, the Cameronians (the only consistent Covenanters) outside raised their testimony "against the toleration granted by the sectarian usurper Cromwell, the antichristian toleration granted by the Popish Duke of York, and the present long-continued toleration granted by that wicked Jezebel, the pretended Queen Anne" (Hill Burton, VIII. p. 241). There was, however, a discordant note from John Glass, the founder of the Glassites or Sandemanians: "The Covenant is incompatible with the spirit of the Gospel dispensation and the sacred rights of conscience." John Gibb of Bo'ness went farther: he would have committed to the flames all copies of the Covenant, the Confession, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms and all Acts of the General Assembly.

But he was "the voice of one crying in the wilderness"; the Covenanters within and without the Kirk had not yet the remotest idea of religious liberty. Even worthy Wodrow deplored the toleration given to Quakers, and the one great grief of his soul was that in spite of the penal laws Catholics were holding their own in the north and even increasing in the Highlands and Isles. However, as this period advanced, there were signs of what Cunningham calls "the battle of progression and retrogression." A party was rising of those who "were throwing off the narrow notions of the Covenanting period, and attaining a truer appreciation of the mild religion of Christ." This turn in the tide synchronizes with the case of David Hume, whom they did not dare to excommunicate; we owe the Kirk a grudge for depriving literature of the inevitable masterpiece in reply. The first result of the battle was the Secession under the Erskines, who set up the true Kirk of Scotland. Cunningham laments: "When the Church was beginning to shake herself free from the bigotry and intolerance of the preceding century, Ebenezer Erskine tenaciously clung to them, and was behind the age rather than before it." In their manifesto the Seceders told the nation that the church established at the revolution "did not renew the Covenant," and that in consequence "the prevailing party have declined from Covenanting principles." It is clear that "the upward path of light and liberty" was still very laborious, while there was not much sign of "the fertility of the modern spirit."

FROM 1760 TO 1860

This is the period when the Kirk entered the era of respectability and, in the words of Niven, "began to move onwards with the times." The more intelligent Scotsmen had already begun to shake off the incubus which had so long oppressed the nation. This was due to larger and freer intercourse with England, and through it to a resumption of interest in the wider life of Europe. Hitherto the Covenant had narrowed the outlook of all who were under its spell. But now in Scotland began the great secular movement, which was gradually to mould the various Kirks into something very different from the lines of 1560 and 1638. Now began the rule of the Moderates in the ministry, reaching its full development under the able leadership of Robertson. Not that opposition was wanting, and that there were not left stalwarts who remained true to Covenanting principles; only, they took the new name of Evangelicals. The Moderates ignored Calvinism, if they did not actually cease to believe in it. In the years from 1773 to 1778 the question of Creed subscription was debated in the Assemblies. The Evangelicals contended that "to sign the Confession, and yet not to believe all it contains, is dishonest." The more advanced among the Moderates quite agreed, but called for freedom from the bondage: "The Confession of Faith," said they, "takes away the right of private interpretation of the Bible, which was the glory

of the Reformation." However, Robertson found a way out in the compromise which has held till the present day: "The Church's faith is fixed by statute; let the subscription be on the proviso—so far as agreeable with the Word of God." The words of Cunningham (II. p. 539-552) in this connection are significant: "It is certain that at the present day many are weary of systems and symbols, and long for a return to the pure evangelism of the Gospels . . . but if creeds and symbols were abolished, a revolution in the religious world would speedily ensue, the end of which no man could predict . . . yet the language of creeds may be wrested as well as that of Scripture, and, therefore, there must ever be in the Church an authoritative interpreter." In the copy of Cunningham's work before the present writer a previous reader has expressed his utter astonishment at the concluding words of this quotation.

In the matter of toleration the attitude of the two parties is worthy of note. Robertson and the Moderates warmly favoured the relief of Catholics, at least from the more galling penal laws. Not so the Evangelicals, who petitioned members of Parliament against it; and so it was again in the years immediately before Catholic Emancipation in 1829. The intolerance outside the Establishment was more marked, especially among the Cameronian remnant, whose manifesto to the nation at an earlier date had stigmatised the celebrated Whitefield, while on a preaching tour in Scotland, as "a prelatic hireling of lax toleration principles." The spirit of the Covenant

finally deserted the State Church in the famous Disruption of 1843, when the Free Kirk stood forth as the legitimate heir of past glories.

FROM 1860

At the beginning of this period Mackintosh (II. p. 202) clearly saw the coming disintegration of all dogmatic belief among Presbyterians generally: "It is the distinctive and characteristic glory of Roman Catholicism to proclaim that it has never changed its creed or principles. But Protestantism admits of change . . . and endeavours by a process of elimination to advance towards the conception of a supreme moral idea to which all theology should eventually subordinate itself." Forty years later Story was able to say: "The thoughts of the churches widen with the process of the suns, and the heresy of one generation becomes the accepted dogma of another. . . . The liberty of prophesying is now the Church's (*i.e.* the Kirk's) secure possession" (p. 308). In vain did the eloquent Caird endeavour to stem the torrent by proclaiming, *inter alia*, that there was no difficulty about three in one, seeing that we were all many in one; but the quicksands of German pantheism afforded a feeble barrier against the onrushing tide. Still later Lindsay (I. p. 434, II. p. 473) could report progress: "Doctrines are not the beginning of things; they are at best the store-houses of past and blessed spiritual experiences. . . It is faith that simplifies religion marvellously . . . something which could

never be proved by argument, and never could be dissolved away by speculation." This must be Mackintosh's "supreme moral idea"; only, faith in any possible meaning of the word, either is, or presupposes, a belief in somebody or something. No wonder that Lang sums up (III. p. 17): The Kirks "have reached the region of devout darkness and negation of belief." Such certainly is the general trend, but it is not denied that there are left individuals who still cling to the old beliefs in some shape or other. The blame for this state of matters is usually laid on the German methods of theology and criticism, which fascinated the ministerial world of Scotland for fifty years before the outbreak of the great war. But the reason lies deeper in a wider influence of longer standing, of which the German craze is only one of the manifestations. The Kirk of the Covenant had dragged down the great body of the nation to its own level—that of a narrow outlook on life, as well as on the problem of man's future destiny, arising from a fatalism which made Scotsmen a byword among other people for cant and misery. But during the course of the eighteenth century the intelligence of the country began to shake itself free from the bondage, and what Hume Brown calls "the secular spirit" began the reverse process of moulding the religious thought of the Kirk after its own likeness. Even the evangelicalism of the Free and United Presbyterian Kirks by the end of the nineteenth century had given place to the general scepticism that was abroad. The Moderator of the latter body

is reported to have said recently: "Much that was preserved in the various creeds and confessions was dead matter, and it would be a clear gain if we could have some formula essentially true which could be shouted in the streets." Apparently "the supreme moral idea to which all theology should eventually subordinate itself" has not yet been found. But gone is the Calvinism of Knox, gone is the Covenant.

However, not altogether; for there is a remnant left to inveigh against those who "deem the Covenant effete and fossilferous" and "an exploded imagination." To them "the Lebanon range of Calvinism sends out streams of living water, and cedars of God grow on its rocky sides." They cry out: "Ah, Scotland, Scotland, how is thy gold become dim? Ah, where is the God of Elijah?" And so it is the Old Testament atmosphere to the end of the chapter.

CHAPTER VII

RELIGION AND PROSPERITY

During the eighteenth century a complete change of mental outlook came about in Scotland. The result was that the nation began to raise itself from a state of universal misery and entered on a career of widespread prosperity. The ordinary histories dwell on the fact of this remarkable revolution, but they do not adequately explain the causes and circumstances which brought it about. Fortunately there are two works, both written by Presbyterian ministers, which deal with the homely records of this interesting period and give the desired information. The first is *Social Life in Scotland* (1884), by Rogers, who however admits that he has "merely touched the subject, not exhausted it." A much more scientific and exhaustive work is *Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (1899), by Grey Graham. On its appearance his presentment of the condition of the people during the first half of that century was considered a gloomy exaggeration; but it is to be feared that the critics (including the present writer) in their fond partiality for their native country did not pay heed to the wide documentary evidence of every kind on which the author based his statements

throughout. These statements are amply confirmed by Hume Brown in his *History of Scotland* (1911), though it is apparent that he does all in his power to put the best face on the matter.

I

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND BEFORE

A

The first half of the eighteenth century as to its character is linked with the previous hundred and forty years. The course of events shaped by the prevalent attitude of the national mind had led up to the undisputed sway and influence of the Presbyterian Kirk over the whole social life of the great majority of the Scottish people. It was then the common belief that the sun for the first time appeared over the horizon in 1560 after the murky night of the middle ages, and that the light of the gospel began thereafter to shed its beneficent rays over the nation for its temporal as well as spiritual advantage. The Stuart persecution had only riveted the affections of the people more firmly to Presbytery, and after the Revolution of 1688 the Kirk emerged fully triumphant. She had still a period of undisputed rule down to 1750, or even 1760, allowed her for the nation to reap to the full the advantage of her influence during the previous century and a half. One is therefore led to suppose during the first half of the eighteenth century a happy and

contented nation enjoying without exception or stint the blessings of civil and religious liberty, an industrious peasantry with a highly-developed agriculture, a thoroughly educated people whose habits and literature were the reflex of noble thoughts and high aims.

B

Yet the reverse was the case. According to Cosmo Innes, "the first half of the eighteenth century was a period of stagnation in Scotland." This is borne out by the abundant documentary evidence adduced by Grey Graham: "Equal marks of poverty met the traveller's eye in the natives clad in blue rags, their skins browned with dirt, their gait listless: in the miserable hovels of turf and stone: in the poor patches of tilled land, abounding in thistles and nettles in the ridges." According to the celebrated David Hume, an eye-witness, there was no middle class in Scotland; there were only "gentlemen who have some rank and education, and the meanest starving poor." Even the novelist Smollett had sorrowfully to admit to his English friends that his countrymen for most part were "lean, shabby and soiled." In the country the generality of men and women went barefoot; they were either too poor to buy or had not ingenuity enough to make even wooden shoes. It was very different in the times of the monks of Cupar, who, according to Rogers enjoined that their tenants "sal be honest (respectable) in their cleything." The

monks made it possible. According to Hume Brown (I. p. 196): "we have conclusive proof that the subjects of James II. (about 1460 in Catholic times) had both the will and the opportunity to cultivate the arts of peace and even to attain to a degree of luxury that seemed to call for repression rather than encouragement. Alike from the Exchequer Rolls and from Parliamentary legislation we derive the picture of a society, energetic, intelligent, and eager to keep its place in the community of nations." Thus the Scots Parliament of 1457 enjoined on labourers and husbandmen "to weare on the wark daye bot gray & quhite, and on the halie-daie licht blew, green and redde: and their wives sich-swa and courchies of their awin making, and that it excede not the price of 11 pennyes the elne." Such a sumptuary law would have been a cruel mockery in the first half of the eighteenth century.

The period under review came before the era of industrial development, but one would have expected a high cultivation of the land; however, the picture given by Grey Graham from the evidence in his hands is deplorable. He even goes so far as to say that "religious feelings fostered idleness, and depressed and hampered agriculture"; again, "the laziness of Scottish field labourers had passed into a proverb." They refused to clear a field of weeds, because that would be to undo God's curse: and to drain land, because it was sinful to change the natural course of water. According to Grey Graham, their very religion induced a fatalism akin to

that of the Turk. "The result was that great tracts of country formerly under cultivation were soon covered with heather as if they had never been under the plough. In former times wheat seems to have been grown extensively in many parts of Scotland; but very little of it was raised at this time, and wheaten bread was a delicacy even to the gentry." This makes sad reading in contrast to the days before the dawn. According to Cosmo Innes, "the monks were liberal landlords, stimulating and aiding their people towards emancipation and true independence." According to Edgar (*History of Education in Scotland*, p. 320), "the basis of a country's prosperity is in most cases the land and its tillage. The monks and canons regular of the monasteries were the great promoters and improvers of agriculture. They introduced the proper variation of crops; they cleared the ground of brushwood, drained marshes, hedged off fields, got mills erected, roads made, and encouraged their cottars to build. They are admitted on all sides to have been indulgent landlords." Rogers, too, remarks on the monks' initiating their dependents in the art of husbandry, and on "the smile of fertility and abundance" that followed. According to Hume Brown, referring to Catholic times, "we have the testimony of foreigners that the country was largely under cultivation, and that the peasant class of Scotland lived on better terms than their fellows elsewhere"; also, that "wherever the soil permitted, the Scots had assiduously and successfully applied themselves to its cultiva-

tion." The cottars were the lowest class of the people ; yet in the old days each family had from three to nine acres of land merely for the personal service of work on the abbey lands not exceeding nine days a year. The best test of prosperity in an agricultural country is the cultivation of wheat along with other cereals. According to the old Scottish records the prices of the boll were :—

	Wheat	Barley	Oats
In 1296 ..	16 pence	10 pence	4 pence
In 1424 ..	24 „	16 „	6 „

In Catholic times wheaten bread appears to have been within the reach of the poorest cottar ; but in 1700–50 it was a foreign luxury in Scotland. In such a condition of things we need not be surprised to learn that there were at intervals years of famine during the first half of the eighteenth century. The consequence was that many parishes were reduced to a half or even a third of their population from utter starvation or from famine fever. As one old parish chronicle observes : " the living wearied of burying the dead." Thousands of famished creatures, especially from Ayrshire and Galloway, crossed over to Ireland. At the time bad seasons were blamed or laid at the door of Providence. However, there were bad seasons also before 1560 ; only, the difference was that the monks of old trusted in Providence, but kept their granaries full—not only for themselves, but for others. They carried on a system of Christian communism for the

benefit of the poor, but after their time came in the spirit of exclusive possession and the glories of individualism.

Nor is it surprising to learn, on the contemporary authority of Fletcher of Saltoun, that at the beginning of the eighteenth century there were in Scotland 200,000 vagrants, without house or home, begging from door to door. In 1710 the whole population of the country was barely 1,000,000; hence, in a century and a-half after 1560 one in every five Scotsmen was a wanderer in his native land. Rogers calls Fletcher's estimate an exaggeration, while he admits that "vagrancy at the close of the seventeenth century was greatly prevalent." Further, he quotes one, James Fea, as late as 1775: "Troops of miserable creatures almost numerous enough to plunder the town (Kirkwall), if their valour was in proportion to their distress." However, to keep within safe limits, let Fletcher's estimate be reduced by one-half; that means that in 1710 one in every ten Scotsmen was a vagrant. The only vagrants before the troubles that led up to the religious revolution of 1560 were the "Egyptians" or gipsies—a strange people from the East who entered Europe in the fourteenth century. The first mention of them in the Acts of the Scots Parliament is in 1425. But these were not native Scotsmen. As regards native Scotsmen, the evil commenced in the sixteenth century, and came to a head in the period under review. The Scots Parliament kept up a thunder of denunciations against "sorners and thiggers" in 1574,

1575, 1579, 1592, 1593, 1597, 1601, 1604 and 1617, and then gave up the case as hopeless. A similar phenomenon was seen in England after the suppression of the monasteries. The remedy there was to string up the poor wanderers by scores, or even by hundreds at a time, on the road-side —and then came that glory of the newer Christianity, the workhouse. But to the credit of the kindly Scot the first part of this course was never adopted north of the Tweed. The only inhuman proposal was that seriously entertained by Fletcher of Saltoun, as stated by Grey Graham: "When Fletcher of Saltoun prescribed slavery as a drastic remedy for begging, he was propounding no novel or whimsical scheme, but simply urging that existing laws should be enforced on the 200,000 sturdy prowling beggars who were pests and dangerous to the community."

This leads us to a fact that would be incredible if it were not for the incontrovertible evidence. Both Rogers and Grey Graham mention it. In the words of the latter: "There was a section of the people who lived in serfdom, compelled by the law to labour their whole life without hope of freedom. This was the condition of all who worked in the salt pans, and of many in the (coal) mines." Rogers alludes to their having been called by the soothing name of "necessary servants." Cosmo Innes in his *Sketches of Early Scottish History* (Appendix IV.) is still more emphatic: "The strange fact of our own age and country having witnessed servitude as degrading as negro slavery attracted the attention of two

writers." He then quotes two authors: first, Hugh Miller, who recalls with shame that he had conversed with Scotsmen "who had been born slaves, thick-lipped, resembling savages in their most degraded state"; and Lord Cockburn, in his *Memorials:* "They were literally slaves." A feeble attempt was at one time made to show that these slaves were the descendants of the medieval serfs. Even if this were the case (which it is not), it says little for the era of civil and religious liberty that any native Scotsman should have been allowed to remain a serf, and that thirteen years after the revolution of 1688 an express exception should have been made from the Scots *Habeas Corpus* Act: "This Act is noways to be extended to colliers and salters." The true origin of this slavery is given by Grey Graham: "This extraordinary state of bondage, sanctioned by Scots Law since 1606, there was no attempt to abolish till 1775"; that is, it began forty-six years after 1560, and continued throughout the whole heroic period of Presbyterian history. Cosmo Innes says: "I see no reason to believe that the bondage of colliers and salters was a vestige, or at all derived from the medieval serfdom. It dates from the Act of the Scots Parliament of 1606, which plainly from its phraseology is the introduction of a new condition, and not the declaration of an old law custom." The Presbyterian Kirk spent a good deal of its time in vindicating its own liberties; but what about the liberties of these colliers and salters? Very different was the Catholic Church in the days of

her power. Gradually indeed, but firmly, in difficult times she emancipated the serfs of Scotland. Even Rogers waxes eloquent on the subject: "The Church was the great emancipator . . . nor mighty secular authority wrest them (the serfs, once their shackles fell) from the Church." The last recorded case of a surviving serf was in 1364 in Banffshire, while it has to be remembered that the medieval serf had not by any means been like the later ignoble and degraded slave of the mines and saltpits. Accordingly, for two hundred years before 1560, all Scotsmen without exception were in the fullest sense of the word freemen in their native land. But Scotsmen in the first half of the eighteenth century had become so accustomed to the idea of slavery in their midst, that, according to Grey Graham: "between 1740 and 1746 a regular trade existed of supplying hands to the American settlements, where they were sold. Rascally companies were formed to carry on the business. . . . Parents were afraid to let their children out of doors when darkness set in. . . . It is impossible to say how many victims were kidnapped. . . . In the famine year, 1740, children were even sold by their parents to these kidnappers for a shilling." So much for civil liberty.

The case of religious liberty was even worse. As Grey Graham says, "in truth the standards of the Church (*i.e.* the Presbyterian Kirk)—so minute, so comprehensive, so rigid—gave little scope to private judgment or public speech; and when a man was licensed to preach, he was

practically deprived of his licence to think." Be this as it may, there can be no question that the obsession of a people by what their descendants now admit to be an exploded dogma of fatalism must have been religious slavery of the worst type. But it is in the sphere of morals and discipline that the evil is more readily understood. There is abundant documentary evidence to show that " ecclesiastical authority over the morals of the community was wielded in the early part of the century with almost undisputed sway. The Church had far-reaching powers, for if a suspected person refused to compear before the Presbytery, it called in the authority of the sheriff. In those days there was oversight exercised in every part of existence and every day of man's life. The lynx eyes of elders and deacons, appointed to watch and pray, were alert in every corner; there was no place where one was free from their inquisitorial intrusion; they might enter into any house, and even pry into the rooms. The Kirk rebuked with no sense of proportion—in fact, with no sense whatever. Sins the most heinous and offences the most trivial were treated with equal gravity. The Sunday acquired in Scotland a sanctity which far exceeded that of the Sabbath of the Jews in their most Pharisaical days. To have whistled, or walked on the roads, or pulled a turnip in the garden, incurred heavy censure, a fine or appearance in the pillory; even to have carried a can of water to a sick person was treated as a profanation of the Sabbath. Every rumour, every suspicion of ill-doing was

reported to the kirk-session, and evidence of the most inquisitive kind was taken; and if an inquiry was too delicate even for elders, matrons were appointed to examine and give their testimony. Yet immorality was rife in spite of the terror of the Church." This was a system that beats hollow the supposed iniquities of the Spanish Inquisition at its worst. As Andrew Lang says, the Spanish Inquisitors were at least gentlemen, and did not descend to the petty shifts and expedients of the Scottish elders and deacons; nor did they madden poor women to commit wholesale murder. Grey Graham with shame refers to the prevalence during the first half of the eighteenth century of infanticide caused by the discipline of the Kirk, and of the hangings that followed in consequence. Yet he is at pains to say that "nevertheless Scotsmen were not a priest-ridden race." There is no need to quarrel about words, especially as he himself admits that "the effort since the Reformation had been to make Scotland a clumsy theocracy." The argument he gives comes to this, that the people liked it. Anyhow they were the slaves of a reign of terror, and the worst form of slavery is when the slave hugs his chains.

It is not surprising to learn that, with such low ideas of civil and religious liberty, the illiteracy of the people was deplorable. "At the beginning of the century," says Grey Graham, "we find immense districts in the Lowlands without any efficient means of education, and wide tracts with no means of education at all. We find enormous

ranges in the northern counties with neither school nor teacher, where few were able to read or write till far on in the century." To give some instances quoted by him from the records: In Galloway in 1720 few or none of the people were able to read; in 1735 there were many people in Ayrshire who had never been at school, and whose children had no school to go to; but Fife was an honourable exception, for there two out of every three men could sign their name, but only one woman in twelve. The wonder is where John Knox's schools in every parish had gone to. Higher education was also at low ebb: "In despair Principal Carstares even formed a scheme for importing Dutchmen to be professors in the universities." And as for art, and the other amenities which brighten social life, it would be a mockery to expect them in an age when the vast majority of the people could hardly keep body and soul together. The popular literature of the time, so far as the people could read or be read to, was in keeping with their condition. Rogers gives an idyllic picture of the travelling merchants selling "their stock of chap-books, consisting of ballads and entertaining tales." What these ballads and entertaining tales for most part really were, the abundant specimens to be found in our public libraries will show. Grey Graham tells the truth without fear or favour: "A people's songs reflect the people's mind and picture the people's life. Many (of these songs) were utterly gross; animal they are, and show how lightly the peasants regarded uncleanness of thought, word

and behaviour." It was not one of the least merits of the poet Burns, later in the century, that he should have done his best to purify this popular literature and raised the literary taste of his countrymen to a higher level.

All this makes rather dismal reading, but Rogers should be read to bring some light to the picture. He deals principally with the very small class of nobility and gentry, about whom he gives on the whole rather entertaining anecdotes. Grey Graham went deeper in his researches, and gives us the social life of the common people or of the vast majority of Scotsmen. But even on reading him, there are some redeeming features—in no way, however, qualifying the statement as to the national misery during the first half of the eighteenth century. One of these comes out into prominent relief in the kindness of the poor towards those poorer than themselves. In those days poverty was not a crime in Scotland.

II

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

A

The second half of the eighteenth century is linked with the hundred and twenty-seven years that have followed. It was then that new forces began to assert themselves fully and triumphantly, leading to an utter break with the past, and to a development of a new order of things.

In the words of Grey Graham, "after the middle of the century toleration spread among all classes, and had leavened the ranks of the clergy, over whose manners and tone a vast change had passed. They left dogmas alone, and preached the plain duties of life. Though the dogmas were in reality as hard and grim as ever, they were either kept in the background or presented in a softer light." There were indeed now and again outbreaks of "evangelism," and the unity of the Kirk had been broken by various secessions; but this very fact only contributed to lessen the hold on the obedience of the people. The result was a rapid and universal revolt from the thraldom of the Kirk discipline. Most Scotsmen still adhered to some form of Presbyterianism, but by the end of the eighteenth century their religion had long ceased to exercise any influence on the daily activities of their social life. As Hume Brown says: "this new flowering of the national spirit implied a complete breach with the past. Commerce and the modern spirit . . . had overridden the theocratic ideals which had been the bequest of the Reformation of 1560. It was in the purely secular sphere that Scotland now achieved what is set to her account by the world at large; religion, as it manifests itself in soul and mind, bore the stamp of mediocrity throughout the whole period." The nineteenth century saw a still greater decline. "Evangelism," especially of the American type, appeared at intervals; but the almost universal tendency was to cast off all definite belief. Not only did the Confession

of Faith become a dead letter, but the Bible itself lost its hold on the vast majority of Scotsmen. There were not wanting leading men, whose teaching gave the impression that the Bible was only one of the great books of the world, with merely an inspiration like that of Milton or Shakespeare, Carlyle or Kipling. The result was a growing indifference to all religion long before the nineteenth century came to an end. It is interesting to note the view taken on this change by the two writers who have been quoted. Grey Graham is appalled : " The differences in religious tone and expression between 1700 and 1800 are striking from every point of view ; while if we compare the beginning of the eighteenth century with the end of the nineteenth, we can observe that the Church of Scotland, though under the same creed, has followed two utterly different religions and worshipped two opposite gods." On the other hand Rogers, after alluding to " the moral and intellectual superiority of Scotsmen," consoles himself : " The flood of intemperance is assuaged, and the dust of the snuff-mill no longer taints the peasant's board or impairs the preacher's voice. As self-indulgence is repressed, philanthropy takes root." Few years of the twentieth century have run, but they unmistakably foreshadow worse things to come. Hume Brown, with ill-concealed irony, remarks (III. p. 385): " The relations of the Church (*i.e.* of the Presbyterian bodies) to its original standards have become such that heresy is no longer capable of definition . . . doctrinal sermons are now

rarely heard, and the preachers restrict themselves to the enforcement of a spiritual ideal compatible with the new conceptions of the Sacred Writings." It is to be feared that the Bible is now a sealed book to the great majority of the Scottish people. One therefore would be led to suppose that, dating from the middle of the eighteenth century, there has been a steady decline in the prosperity of the country, reaching its climax in our own days.

B

But nothing of the sort. It would indeed be hard to understand how a decline could have been possible from the prosperity of the first half of the eighteenth century, except into utter savagery. On the contrary, in the latter half of the century, as the people shook themselves free from the Kirk discipline and from the fetters of predestinarian fatalism, a great change for the better gradually came over the face of the land. This was first seen in agriculture, in course of time making Scotland one of the best-tilled countries in the world, and recalling the skilled husbandry of the monks. And so also with commerce and industry. In Catholic times there was a considerable oversea commerce, with a development of industries in keeping with the general progress of the world at the time; while, according to Grey Graham, "at the beginning of the eighteenth century the country was in dire poverty—a famishing people, a stagnant trade, rude manu-

facture and profitless industries. On comparing Scotland at the beginning of the eighteenth century with what it was at the close, the contrast is startling—a change from social stagnation to general energy, from abject poverty to widespread wealth." It was then, too, that the universities began again to flourish, and that Scotland took an acknowledged place in the world of literature and science. There is no need to labour the point of the marvellous progress and development during the nineteenth century, and down to our own day ; it is before our eyes.

On the 20th December 1871 a speaker in the City Hall of Glasgow gave out and developed his text : " The Bible has made Scotland what she is." The thesis was rather unfortunate in its latitude, and Rev. Alexander (afterwards Mgr.) Munro came forward and asked leave to address the meeting. After a hurried consultation the chairman wisely refused permission, and Father Munro had to content himself with an open letter to the public, from which it is only necessary to quote a few words : " It is not for me to publish the details of my country's shame. . . . I would further observe that in the Scotland of the Reformation and Presbyterian periods wealth and power were by no means pre-eminently characteristic of the nation. From the Reformation till towards the close of last century (the eighteenth) Scotland was in fact without money, without commerce, and destitute of political importance. It was only when the spirit of freedom, which had been oppressed by the blight of Presbyterianism,

began to shake off the incubus, that commerce returned and grew, and wealth and influence followed in its train. The material prosperity of Scotland has been in exact proportion with the decline of Presbyterian power." Hume Brown sees clearly that the temporal prosperity of our day has been entirely due to causes altogether outside and beyond religious influences, and that on the contrary the prevalent religion of the country has been steadily dragged down by these counter forces. However, as regards the national poverty and misery which reached their culmination in the early part of the eighteenth century, he appears to omit the dominant factor, and sums up the causes in rack-renting landlords, want of capital, and antiquated methods. But the rack-renting landlords came in after 1560; assiduous cultivation of the land would have created capital, just as it did of old; and the consequent vigour and ingenuity would have introduced new methods, just as happened later. The fault lay in the general apathy of the time induced by religious fatalism.

III

A CONTRAST

There is one moral power to-day that warring peoples will listen to. As it was from the beginning of Christianity, and shall be to the end of time, it belongs to no nation, but embraces all,

It has to contend with their conflicting passions, but works its will with patience and waits confidently for the result. Long before any of the present modern states or religious sects existed, says Cosmo Innes (*Scotland in the Middle Ages*, Ch. I.): "Rome, no longer imperial, nor the centre of civil dominion, swayed the minds of men with an authority more awful. . . . The Church was a completely organised society, extending from one centre and embracing all Christendom. . . . It attacked barbarism at every point, to civilize and to rule over it. . . . Its tendency was ever popular; it supported the poor; it emancipated the slave . . . with its mighty moral power it saved the world, when there was a danger of its falling a prey to brute force. I use the words of a Protestant and a true philosopher (Guizot) when I say: 'humanly speaking, it was the Christian Church that saved Christianity.'" In this, Scotland was no exception; it owes to the Catholic Church the very existence of its civilization and of whatever Christianity it still possesses. Through the fault of men, nations as well as individuals may fall away from the Catholic Church, but in either case they carry away on them her impress in whatever remains true or noble in their new life. And certainly Scotland, in the matter of material prosperity and progress, had not much to thank the Revolution of 1560 for. It was a set-back to the civilization of the country for two hundred years. When the Presbyterian Kirk ceased to be a real power in the land, it left the nation a byword for poverty and misery. On the

other hand, the Catholic Church, when the days of her power ended, left Scotland (in the words of Andrew Lang) "richer, more civilized, and more distinguished in literature than she was again destined to be till 1760."

CHAPTER VIII

THE EDUCATION MYTH

MANY Scotsmen still believe that in Catholic times universal ignorance hung over the land like a thick fog, and that the era of Scottish education begins with the year 1560. It would appear that John Knox had to make a beginning somehow, but that in the twelve years before his death in 1572 he had the consolation of seeing a school established in every parish. However, this view is so palpably belied by the facts of history that the myth has been forced to take another form of what may be called enlightened prejudice. It is allowed that in Catholic times there was an education of a sort, "with gleams of enlightenment occasionally darting athwart the gloom"; but it was not till 1560 that there came the beams of broad daylight. Both forms of the myth are at one in holding that from the brain of Knox sprang the idea, the growth of which "has placed Scotland in the van of educated nations," and has made Scotsmen, "in point of moral and intellectual superiority, the envy of other peoples."

The truth can be gathered from the following writers :—

John Kerr, *Scottish Education in School and University*, 1910.

John Edgar, *History of Early Scottish Education*, 1893.
James Grant, *History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland*, 1876.
John Mackintosh, *The History of Civilization in Scotland*, 1880-88, Vols. II., III., IV.
Cosmo Innes, *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, and *Sketches of Early Scotch History*.
Hill Burton, *History of Scotland*, 1899, Vols. III.-VIII.
Hume Brown, *History of Scotland*, 1911, Vol. III.
Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland*.
John Cunningham, *The Church History of Scotland*, 1859, Vols. II., III.
Grey Graham, *Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (1899), Vol. II.
Joseph Kay, *The Education of the People in England and Europe*, 1850, Vol. II.
Report of the Argyll Commission, 1867.

I

BEFORE 1560

The three writers cited at the head of the list bear ample testimony to the widespread education of the Scottish people in Catholic times. "There are few things," says Kerr (p. 18), "more remarkable in the history of civilization than the thirst for education in Scotland at the beginning of the fifteenth century (*i.e.* a century and a half before 1560)—a thirst which had been unquestionably created at first by the Church, but was now largely shared by laymen." According to Edgar (p. 63): "The medieval Church was not only a great religious and social, but also a great educa-

tional institution; it covered with its mantle all kinds of learning." Grant (p. 72) with emphasis refers to "our obligation to the ancient Church for having so diligently promoted our national education—an education placed within the reach of *all* classes." (The italics are his.) Again: "We have found that all classes co-operated in promoting the education of youth. Apart from the fact of schools being spread all over the country long before the Reformation, etc., etc." One has only to go over the list of the various schools given by these writers to learn that not only was there a school in every parish in Scotland for centuries before 1560, but that many a parish had several schools within its borders. There were:

1. *The Parish Schools.*—"Parish Schools," says Edgar, "are therefore as old as the parish system itself."

2. *The Lecture Schools.*—This kind of elementary school for "lecture," *i.e.* for reading, arose principally in the burghs and in districts where the parish school had developed into what was afterwards called a high school. In towns there were often several lecture schools.

3. *The Dame Schools.*—This kind of school was to be found everywhere.

4. *The Sang Schools.*—This species of school was attached to almost all the greater churches in which there was a daily choral service. Their purpose was to train boys in church chant; but at the same time a general education was given, and in some cases even a knowledge of the Latin classics.

5. *The Hospital Schools.*—A school was often attached to those foundations which, under the generic name of hospitals, were erected in Catholic times for various charitable purposes. Till a recent date one of the members of Glasgow Town Council went by the name of Preceptor, as the municipality had fallen heir to the administration of the educational funds belonging to ancient hospices in the city and neighbourhood.

6. *The Grammar Schools.*—As Kerr explains: "Going back to the twelfth century, we find that 'grammar,' which meant all classical literature, was the principal instruction in these schools." They were to be found not only in all the considerable towns, but even in places of little importance. The High School of Glasgow and the Grammar School of Aberdeen are but descendants of these ancient institutions.

7. *The Collegiate Schools.*—There were over Scotland in Catholic times thirty-three of these high schools, so called because they were attached to collegiate churches with prebendaries who celebrated a daily office like the canons in the cathedrals. Among the more celebrated of these schools was that of Dumbarton, where Buchanan, according to a probable account, learned his Latinity, and that of Linlithgow, in which Ninian Winzet taught Hebrew as well as Latin and Greek.

8. *The Monastic Schools.*—Attached to each of the monasteries all over Scotland were two schools: (1) The inner school for the studies of the monks, and (2) the outer school for the

children of the neighbourhood. This outer school in some cases was only elementary, but frequently it took the form of a high school, when poor as well as rich people's boys were boarded within the monastic precincts.

9. *The Cathedral Schools.*—These are not to be confounded with the grammar schools, which also existed in every cathedral city or town. The cathedral school approached nearer to the idea of a university. Thus, even before 1450, in the Chapter House of Glasgow, lectures were given in canon and civil law and in scholastic philosophy and theology. In fact, till the universities were founded at home, the cathedral schools fulfilled their function for those who were unable to go to Oxford, or abroad to Paris or Bologna. Nor has it to be forgotten that the houses of the Blackfriars (the Dominicans) and of the Greyfriars (the Franciscans) were centres for the teaching of arts, philosophy, and theology. The Blackfriars' School at Aberdeen and the Greyfriars' School in Edinburgh were especially famous.

10. *The Universities.*—There were three in Catholic times: St. Andrews, founded in 1411; Glasgow, in 1450; and Aberdeen, in 1494; and Reid, the last Catholic bishop of Orkney, gave funds for the beginning of a university in Edinburgh. It has to be kept in mind that many Scotsmen still continued to graduate at the English and Continental universities after, just as they had done long before, the establishment of these seats of learning in their own land.

Thus it is seen that in Catholic times there

existed "a graded and organized scheme of national education, of which the coping-stone was the university." Elementary education was more than amply provided for in the parish, dame, lecture, hospital and sang schools. What is now called secondary education was given in the grammar, monastic and collegiate schools. A still higher education, including even law and medicine, was given in the cathedral, and also in some of the friars' and monastic schools. And the full training for graduation in arts, law, medicine, philosophy and theology was given in the universities. "Here we have," says Cunningham, with enthusiasm (though in another connection), "a parochial system of education chalked out—a system whose foundations were laid amid such humble literature as the peasantry could receive, but whose pinnacles reached to the highest regions of learning—a system starting from the village school and ending in the university." Only, in Catholic times the system was not merely "chalked out": it was a fact.

FROM 1560 TO 1860

Now comes one of the great puzzles of history. Most of the writers above cited refer to the Great Charter, as they call it, of Scottish education to be found in the "First Book of Discipline," of which Knox was the principal author. "Knox's scheme," says Kerr with rapture (p. 77), "has been the admiration of three centuries and a-half. It contemplated, first, a school in every parish;

second, a higher school or college in cities and notable towns; and third, university education." It will strike the reader that he has met with something like this before. The truth even dawned on Edgar so long ago as 1893 (p. 89): "There were schools as well as universities before the days of Knox. We have already seen that parochial schools had been in existence for centuries. Knox must have known of parish schools in Scotland as well as of a parochial division. The fact that he does not refer to them is no more a proof that they did not exist than is the fact that he speaks of founding grammar schools and erecting colleges a proof that none had been established before his time. It is surprising that Knox speaks as if the whole work of establishing schools of every kind had to be undertaken from the beginning." It was certainly a singular lapse of memory. Nor can it be maintained that Knox added anything particularly new of educational or pedagogic value. It is said that on certain points he was before his time; but it may be more truly said that he was after it. To take them one by one: A compulsory clause was no novelty, for it was contained in an Act of the Scots Parliament of 1496. An entrance examination had been enjoined previously, in 1549, by the Provincial Council of the Catholic Bishops. That poor scholars should go free was no new idea; it was more than an idea in Catholic times—it was then the rule, and a paying scholar was the exception. As to any other points in the "Great Charter," it is safe to say that they had been known to any

man of average intelligence since the year of the Flood. However, it will be urged that Knox has the merit of having infused new life into the old system. Edgar hints that he was fired with a generous emulation of the last man one would have guessed—St. Ignatius Loyola. "Before his death in 1566," says Edgar (p. 174), "Loyola had firmly founded an educational system which has done much, not only for the Church of Rome, but for the culture of Europe. In a wonderfully short time the education of the upper classes and the leading minds of Europe, Catholic and Protestant alike, were entrusted to the Jesuit teachers. In the year 1626 they had eight hundred and three houses, four hundred and sixty-seven colleges and thirty-six seminaries." The inference is obvious: what St. Ignatius did for Europe, Knox was to do for the world—by making Scotland to shine like a dazzling light in what was to be by comparison the circumambient darkness. His "Great Charter" was to be a driving power, arousing a universal enthusiasm for education, widening out for the higher studies the horizon of knowledge, and raising Scotland to an unparalleled height of culture. It is this that now remains to be seen.

A. *The Parish Schools*

Of all the writers cited above, who deal with the first fifty years after 1560, Cunningham is the only one to make an honest reference to the provision for elementary education (II. p. 504): "Scotland was ill provided with the means of education—

worse than before the Reformation, for the monasteries had been destroyed and nothing substituted in their place." The others are ominously silent about the very existence of parish schools at all during this period. The following litany, which the reader is asked to have the patience to read throughout, gives the explanation :—

1.

Cunningham : "At length, in 1616, the Privy Council put forth its authority to confer on the country the blessing of education."

Hume Brown : "The ideal of a school for every parish was, however, never lost sight of ; and in 1616 an Act of Privy Council ordained that such provision should be made."

Edgar : "It was not till 1616 that an Act of Privy Council was passed appointing a school in every parish."

Chambers : Domestic Annals at year 1616 : "The Privy Council this day (10th December) ordained that there should be a school in every parish of the kingdom."

2.

Mackintosh : "In 1626 the majority of the parishes were without regular schools."

Cunningham : "In 1626 the great majority of parishes are reported (*i.e.* to the Privy Council) as having no school. Such is the dark picture of education in Scotland."

Grey Graham : "In 1633 Parliament passed an Act that there should be established a school in every parish."

Mackintosh : "In 1645 Parliament ordained that there should be a school in every parish."

Hume Brown : " The ideal, however, had not been lost sight of."

3.

Cunningham : " Parliament in 1696 made it imperative on the heritors of every parish to found a school."

Mackintosh : " In 1696 Parliament enacted anew that a school should be established in every parish."

Edgar : " As the Act of 1616 and the later Statutes of 1633 and 1645 were not very successful, it may be said that the Act of 1696 was the real basis of the national parochial system for which Scotland was famous."

Grey Graham : " Parliament in 1696 enacted anew that there should be established a school in every parish. Never was there a wiser law, and never was a law more studiously disregarded."

4.

Mackintosh : " There is little of national importance concerning the parish schools to record in the eighteenth century."

Kerr : " The records of the kirk-sessions pretty much all over the country during the whole of the eighteenth century contain references to schools vacant and teachers apparently half-starved. It is difficult to reconcile this state of matters with the position claimed for Scotland as in the van of educated nations in consequence of its possession of parish schools."

Grey Graham : " At the beginning of the century (the eighteenth) we find immense districts in the Lowlands without any efficient means of education, and wide tracts with no means of education at all. We find enormous ranges in the northern counties with neither school nor teacher, where few were able to read or write till far on in the century."

Statistical Account of 1793 : The Minister of Urr says :

"A parish school (where it can be found) is now a temporary employment for some necessitous person of ability, or a perpetual employment for some languid, insignificant mortal hardly deserving the shelter of a charity workhouse."

5.

Hume Brown: "The ideal of a school in every parish was never lost sight of, but the day was yet far distant when it could take effect."

Grey Graham: "It was not till the beginning of the nineteenth century that the country generally took education seriously, and the Scottish system of education began to be a fact, not a dream."

Kerr: "It cannot be claimed that the scheme of a school in every parish was carried out all over Scotland to a satisfactory extent even up to the middle of the nineteenth century."

Yet even so respectable a writer as Cosmo Innes has said that "education made a rapid stride just after the Reformation." Scotland in Catholic times was literally overrun with elementary schools of every kind—parish, dame, lecture, hospital and sang schools. What became of them? They practically all disappeared in 1560, or died of inanition soon after. To do them justice, Knox and his associates made frantic efforts to save at least the parish schools. But it was not so easy to build up as to pull down, and the implied bargain with the lords of the Congregation had to be kept. The "Great Charter" had to remain a dead letter.

B. *Higher Education.*

The sad fate that was to befall the parish schools of Scotland after 1560 is a well-attested fact of history. However there was the consolation, according to Cunningham (III. p. 59), that "the grammar (*i.e.* the high) schools, which had been founded in papal days, still remained and gave a good education to the upper classes; and the universities struggled on amid many difficulties." The other writers refer to these grammar schools in such a way as to lead their readers to suppose that they were the creation of a new enthusiasm for education. They were nothing of the sort, as Cunningham honestly admits; they were all the old foundations of Catholic times. But even he is misleading when he says without qualification that "there still remained the grammar schools founded in papal days." Only a few of them remained. All the higher schools attached to the monasteries and to the collegiate churches outside the larger towns had disappeared; and all those in smaller towns and country places soon ceased to exist from dilapidation of the funds and from want of teachers. The few that did remain came afterwards to be known as the burgh schools—probably not more than half a dozen for all Scotland for more than two hundred years.

The case of the universities was in another way even worse. As Kerr says (p. 108): "To St Andrews, as to the other universities, the Reformation did serious injury. Their constitu-

tion and organisation were upset by ecclesiastical discord ; their income was sadly reduced by the rapacity of the nobles ; the attendance of students was also injuriously affected." Mackintosh adds (II. p. 462): "The University of Glasgow was nearly ruined by the change of religion. The professors adhered to the old religion" (and of course had to go). "If the principal of the College, John Davidson, had not embraced the reformed opinions, and continued his academical labours, the institution indeed might have been utterly extinguished." At Aberdeen the principal and regents, Catholics to a man, were expelled by the Regent Moray. The same thing happened in the Colleges of St Mary and of St Salvator at St. Andrews. The learning of Scotland did not accept the new gospel. At the religious revolution there was a wholesale exodus of the learned men into exile. This is not the place to explain the reason why ; it is enough for the present purpose to state the fact. Frantic efforts were made by the one or two scholars that were left to save these seats of learning from total extinction, in which they just succeeded to permit of the universities, in Cunningham's words, "struggling on amid many difficulties," and nothing more, till the second half of the eighteenth century.

One is at a loss to understand what that generally judicious writer, Cosmo Innes, meant by saying that "the Reformation excited to a more extensive course of learning." To begin with, during Catholic times law, both civil and

canon, and medicine were taught in the universities, and even in the cathedral schools. On the other hand, Mackintosh attests (III. p. 47): "It was long after the Reformation till either law or medicine reached the maturity of a faculty in any of the Scottish universities." Kerr (p. 126) is more honest in stating that law and medicine ceased to be taught in the universities, as excluded by what was called the "New Foundation" of the Reformers. Grey Graham (p. 198) is equally candid: "Law and medicine were left out of the academic teaching altogether." He points out how this took place after 1560, and explains how aspirants to the profession of law or medicine, who could not go to Paris or Holland, learned what they could as apprentices to a writer or an apothecary. Readers of Smollett know how the medical profession was recruited in his time. In the same eighteenth century our own Bishop Hay was more fortunate in being able to attend in Edinburgh the first medical school since 1560, which, however, was extramural to the university, and was then looked on without much favour.

But what Cosmo Innes and the other writers are thinking of is the "new learning," as it was called in those days. This took the twofold shape of the revived study of Greek literature on the one hand, and of Hebrew on the other. They mean to convey that before 1560 Greek and Hebrew were altogether unknown in Scottish schools, but that the religious revolution of that year opened up an era of enthusiastic and profound study of both languages. The facts of

history, as given by themselves, show that it was the other way about. Italy was the fountain-head of the Renaissance or the restored study of Greek literature, as well as of Hebrew studies. From Italy the double movement spread northward, and finally reached this country towards the end of the fifteenth century. There are abundant indications to show that it was warmly taken up by Catholic Scotland. Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, in the days of James V, referred to the scholarly men who—

> In thare youth be diligent laubour
> Hes leirnit Latyne, Greek and auld Hebrew :
> That I am nocht of that sorte, sore I rew.

Edgar points to the evidence that Greek was taught at Montrose in 1534 ; that at Aberdeen in 1540 Greek as well as Latin orations were delivered before the court of James V. ; and that in 1553 the pupils of Aberdeen grammar school were obliged by rule to speak Greek and Hebrew as well as Latin, French and Gaelic. According to Grant : " There is some evidence that Hebrew was taught in other schools than that of Perth considerably before the Reformation." The Catholic champion, Ninian Winzet, taught both languages up to the very end in the collegiate school of Linlithgow, from the rectorship of which he was hunted in 1560 or 1561. There now followed at once a decay of Greek learning. As Edgar says (p. 157) : " The Renaissance was swallowed up in the Reformation. Typical humanists of Scottish

birth recognised that their native country was not a congenial home for them, and kept themselves in the ampler ether of Continental life." Cunningham (II. p. 438) admits that: "it is probable that there were not ten ministers in the Assembly of 1579 who could read the New Testament in the original tongue." There were fewer later on. According to Kerr (p. 173), there was in Scotland "Greek little or none" in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. So also Mackintosh (III. p. 410): "Greek was not generally taught in the grammar schools during the seventeenth century." And evidently it had fallen into neglect after 1560: "A class was formed in the High School of Edinburgh in 1614 for teaching the rudiments of Greek." As for Glasgow, Grey Graham (p. 186) credits the High School in 1690 "with a little insight into Greek" given to the fifth or last-year pupils. He continues: "Greek was poorly taught even in the universities. Its study was usually evaded by the students. Never distinguished for its attainment in Greek scholarship, though once famous for its Latinity, Scotland had perhaps sunk to its lowest ebb in the early part of the eighteenth century." It would appear that the universities had a monopoly of Greek, but taught little of it. Hebrew had the same fate. These were no longer the days of Andrew Melville, who learned whatever he knew in Catholic times. Kerr asserts of the centuries immediately succeeding 1560 (p. 173): "Hebrew was little known in Scotland." Grey Graham confirms (p. 202): "The study of Hebrew was

in the sorest straits in the early part of the eighteenth century; there were few men who knew anything about the language, fewer still who could teach it." According to him, when later appointments were made to the Hebrew chair in Glasgow University, the nominees were sent to Holland to learn something of the language. It became a standing Dutch joke to ask every Scotsman who went to Leyden for the purpose if he was a Glasgow professor. If in the nineteenth century there at last arose an enthusiasm for the study of Hebrew, it was by no means due to "the impetus of the Reformation," but to the higher criticism imported from Germany. The historical evidence is therefore peremptory that in Scotland the humanistic movement of the Renaissance, and the learned study of the Bible in the original tongues, received a set-back for nearly three hundred years.

Accordingly, it is hard to see where "the wider horizon for the higher studies" came in. According to Kerr (p. 173) there was the arts course, "with Greek little or none. The theological teaching was almost everywhere dull and dreary." There was what was called Moral Philosophy, but it did not seem to thrive; for, according to Mackintosh (IV. p. 18): "in the early part of the eighteenth century philosophy was at a low ebb in Scotland." And Kerr (p. 214), referring to the whole of the seventeenth as well as to great part of the eighteenth century, holds that it was "a period in which university education had in many respects reached its lowest position . . . the

condition of academic life was one of arid, dreary stagnation." It must be said that, far from attaining "a wider horizon," the national mind owed it to the religious Revolution of 1560 that it was cribbed and confined within a narrow circle for centuries. The complete change of mental outlook that took place in Scotland during the eighteenth century is well known. As regards education, the universities were the first to throw off the incubus that weighed heavy on the land. The result was that in the first rebound of freedom there appeared during the latter half of the eighteenth century, especially in Glasgow University, a respectable band of celebrated men. Scotland was able at last once more to take her share in the broad life of European thought. For two centuries her universities had been nothing better than parochial institutions: but then they began to recall "the spacious times" before 1560, when, according to Green, "even the smallest school was European, not local."

C. *National Culture.*

The most faithful reflex of a nation's education is its general culture; as the one is, so is the other. The writers above cited provide ample materials for forming an estimate of this aspect of the national life during the period from 1560 to 1860. They may be classed under three heads, viz., architecture, with the kindred arts; music; and literature.

In Catholic times, according to Edgar (p. 67):

" the monasteries were centres of general progress and enlightenment . . . they were schools of art. In their edifices they have left things of beauty which, even in their ruins, are an educative influence in the land." Cosmo Innes (Ch. iv.) referring to the erection of the old cathedrals and abbeys, explains: " The fine arts—the high imaginative and intellectual arts of architecture, painting, and sculpture—were not yet separated from the other ornamental handworks. They were carried on together, and all tended to elevate and refine those who lived amongst them." And now comes the point. Hill Burton (III. p. 540) says truly: " Perhaps in architecture, more than in other arts, can we specifically decide whether a nation has made progress or deteriorated." Then he states: " In Scotland ecclesiastical architecture came to a stand in 1560. The civil and baronial architecture scarcely redeemed the barrenness of the ecclesiastical." It may be said that the church architecture that reigned in Scotland from 1560 till well on in the nineteenth century was in the severely quadrilateral style, dispensing entirely with all the kindred arts. Mackintosh (III. p. 419) deplores this: " In what is usually termed the fine arts Scotland long remained behind other modern nations. There was too little culture, or love of refinement, or elevated feeling, to prompt or encourage art." Yet a friendly observer of the nation recently declared that Scotsmen are an artistic people. If so, it shows how deadly was the incubus that suppressed their gift for two hundred years. The first of the

fine arts to recover in the new sense of freedom during the latter half of the eighteenth century was that of painting. Four painters of mark then appeared, and—dreadful to relate—all had gone to Rome to learn or perfect themselves in their art: Ramsay for three years, Runciman for five years, Allan for ten years, and Raeburn for two years. Architecture itself took a little longer to revive. The wonder is that the Gothic style should have been generally preferred. The classic construction would have been more suitable, as providing all that is needed, viz., a stage and an auditorium; whereas the Gothic style is the growth and outcome of the Catholic liturgy and ritual. The result has been that for most part the new kirks are only caricatures of the Gothic style—docked buildings, correct enough in details taken by themselves, but sadly wanting in the general harmony of the architectural lines.

"Music," says Edgar (pp. 99, 102), "had been one of the chief means of culture in classical Greece. . . . Music was one of the seven arts which constituted the whole of a liberal education in Catholic times. It was taught not only in the sang schools, but also in the cathedral, monastery, collegiate and parochial schools." Cunningham (III. p. 61) adds: "It was the Church that had fostered this pleasing art; and the daily cathedral service, the solemn chanting of the monks, and the way in which the Roman ritual had so beautifully blended music with almost every act of religious worship, diffused a love of it among the people. It is probable that some of those

touchingly simple Scottish airs, of unknown antiquity, which give such perfect utterance to the finest feelings of the Scottish heart, may first have been sung by young men and maidens who learned from the monks the concord of sweet sounds." And then he adds: "After the Reformation music decayed." Mackintosh (II. p. 475) confirms: "The Reformation was not favourable to the musical art." But he consoles himself: "A notable change has, within a comparatively recent period, taken place among Presbyterians in their ideas about music. The young are now (*i.e.* in 1888) carefully taught to sing." However, the scathing admission comes from Grant (p. 373): "Music during Catholic times was highly cultivated in Scotland . . . but the Reformation—a Reformation so violent as to have tolerated no art, however noble or refined, calculated to administer or to increase the luxury or pleasure of life—dealt so fatal a blow to this most harmonizing of all arts that only in our day (*i.e.* in 1876) is it partially recovering from that event." We are now in the days of classical music and choral unions: but this very recent development is by no means due to "the impetus of the Reformation."

Before 1560 there had been a vigorous literature in the mother tongue, giving promise of great future development. There had been the poets Dunbar, Henryson, Douglas and Lindsay. A terse idiomatic prose had been written by Bellenden and the author of the *Complaynt of Scotland*, a staunch Catholic. Archbishop Hamilton's

Catechism is another instance. Bishop Lesley, Ninian Winzet and John Knox himself (who owed it to Catholic times) wielded the pen in language of a highly literary character. But 1560 nipped the promise in the bud. The only production of the new era was *The Gude and Godlie Ballads*, which Mackintosh rightly characterizes as " a tissue of blasphemy and absurdity." And if it had not been for George Bannatyne, who must have deplored the threatened extinction of literature, all memory of former writers (except one or two, but for no literary reason) would have been lost. His MS. of eight hundred folio pages, written in 1569, now in the Advocates' Library, has preserved to us the works of Douglas, Dunbar and others. And well he did so ; for there was to follow nothing that even by courtesy could be called literature for two hundred years. There was indeed Drummond of Hawthornden, who died in 1649. But, as Mackintosh says, this solitary exception " represents nothing distinctively Scottish " ; or, as Edgar confirms : " He felt himself planted in an uncongenial soil," and lived for most part in Paris and Rome. There were, indeed, many who rushed into print ; but, as Mackintosh adds, " comparatively few people now read their productions "—only antiquaries and historians in search of materials in diaries, volumes of exploded theology and dreary sermons. Hill Burton refers to the " literary barrenness of the country," and to " the dreary contemplation of this arid surface." And when at last, in the course of the eighteenth century, good writers

began to appear, he adds: "It serves also to mark how barren was the literary arena of Scotland" that the few literary men there were could only flourish in England away from their own country. It may be said that there are just four Scottish writers of the eighteenth century who have stood the test of time to be accounted literary classics: David Hume, Smollett, Burns and Robertson. If the first-named three had been told that they owed their inspiration to John Knox, they would have burst into Homeric laughter. Probably Robertson, the great Moderate, would have joined.

It is plain on the face of history that the religious revolution gave to culture a staggering blow, from which, even yet, Scotland has not fully recovered. The Covenanters were the flower of the nation on the lines of 1560; yet their greatest admirers must allow that their civilization was of a rather coarse fibre. In the course of the eighteenth century the national life, emancipated from their spirit, took a new trend. No one could be prouder than the present writer of his many countrymen, who have been since distinguished in every branch of art, science and literature. But somehow there is a want. Everyone has heard of the ideal Englishman. As regards the ideal Scotsman, the words of Edgar unfortunately appear to be too true: "The humanistic side (of civilization) did not take proper root in our soil, and some sides of life have long been undeveloped and stunted because of that" (p. 149).

III

AFTER 1860

The reader is brought again to a dividing line between the old order and the new. The first twelve years, from 1860 till 1872, are the end of the "rapid stride." The Education Act of 1872 introduced a new ideal and a new inspiration very different from those of 1560.

1. *The End of the Old Order*

These twelve years correspond in their way to the twelve years of Knox's educational activity. If ever at all, it must have been then that Scotland should have had the proud distinction of being "in the van of educated nations," and Scotsmen of being "in point of moral and intellectual superiority the envy of other peoples." For the purposes of comparison, we have fortunately the valuable testimony of Joseph Kay in his *The Social Condition and Education of the People in England and Europe*, published in 1850 (pp. 2, 241, 247, 403, 440). This author wrote as an eye-witness from personal knowledge, having travelled from place to place in all the countries to which he refers, visiting schools of every kind, and gathering information at first hand from all sources, even from Government departments. He states: "It is a great fact, however much we may be inclined to doubt it, that throughout all the German States, Denmark, Switzerland,

Norway and the Austrian Empire, *all* (the italics are his) the children are actually at this time attending school, and are receiving a careful education from highly-educated and efficient teachers. No children are left idle and dirty in the streets. All the children of the poorest parents are, in a great part of these countries, in dress, appearance, cleanliness and manners, as polished and civilized as the children of our middle classes. Romanist countries have far outstripped us in the eagerness with which they are promoting the education of their people. The education system of France rivals that of Germany in its comprehensiveness, efficiency and liberality. Bavaria, which is three-fourths Catholic, and Baden, which is two-thirds Catholic, are as far advanced in the enlightenment of their people as Prussia. It is said that Baden has even outstripped Prussia in the wide dissemination and in the high character of the intelligence of her people." Kay then quotes a Mr Nicholls, who in a *Report* had given the same account of the high state of education in Holland and Switzerland: "Let it be remembered that this is done in a country (Switzerland) which can boast the most industrious, independent and least pauperized peasantry in Europe." And: "The effects of their education are apparent in the highly moral and intellectual condition of the Dutch people. Few countries possess a population in which the domestic and social duties are discharged with such constancy as in Holland. I was assured that bastardy is almost unknown.

We met no ragged or dirty person, nor any drunken men. A scrupulous economy and cautious foresight seem to be the characteristic virtues of every class among the Dutch. To spend their full annual income is accounted a species of crime." This was the state of matters there in 1850: could the Scotland of 1850 say more—or even as much ?

According to the *Report* of the Argyll Commission, issued in 1867, there were still parishes in Scotland without schools. Of the parish schools that did exist, while eighty per cent. were efficient, twenty per cent. were deficient in buildings, teachers, equipment and revenues. The desire for learning was general among the shepherds, small farmers and tradesmen: but the ability to read, and especially to write, was in no sense universal, even among these classes. In fact, one-sixth of the child population of the country never attended school. As to the other children, attendance was irregular, courses of study pretentious, and the administration of schools by local authorities lacked precision and efficiency. But it is from the sidelights of history that one can ascertain more fully the true state of matters. One of these appeared in the *Glasgow Herald* of 12th February 1916, in a notice on the late Dr Donald M'Leod: " He was translated in 1862 to St. Michael's Parish, Linlithgow. Education had been greatly neglected. To quote Dr M'Leod's own words, ' Many of the men and women could neither read nor write. I started school on the Sunday mornings at which appren-

tice boys and girls were taught reading, writing and counting. It caused a little talk.' " And yet Linlithgow was no mean town. It is to be feared that Scotland held a poor place in the van, and that there was not too much occasion for envy. Nor is it of any use to appeal to " the lads o' pairts." Scotland has not had a monopoly of that commodity.

2. *The Beginning of the New Order*

With the passing of the 1872 Education Act came what many thoughtful Presbyterians have called the great betrayal. The Kirks allowed the education of the young to pass entirely out of their hands. But, probably, in any case it could not be helped ; they had proved unequal to the task. The State now took the matter up with an ideal of its own. The late war should not blind us to the fact that this ideal was the educational system of Germany, and that the inspiration came no longer from Knox, but from Potsdam. From the 'seventies of last century the insanities of German philosophy had cast a glamour over the Scottish mind, and effaced the last traces of influence from the past. It may be said that the Education Department is the embodiment of Prussian refinement at its best. It has brought the education of the country up to a point of which we need not be ashamed. But, at least till recently, it was admitted that we still fell far short of the ideal. Nor can it be said that Scotland in the matter of education can show

any present superiority over many nations of the old and new world. It is a great matter to see things in their true perspective. Small countries readily fail in this ; or as Mackintosh (p. 502) says: " An insignificant nation in the eyes of its neighbours is apt to regard its own genius and valour as unmatched."

CHAPTER IX

THE FAITHFUL REMNANT

SOMETHING now remains to be said on how it fared with the Catholics of Scotland during the three centuries after the Revolution of 1560. The purpose is, while showing how the Faith was kept alive in Scotland, to bring out into relief the principal reason why only a remnant was saved from the wreck.

The following have been consulted :—

Scotichronicon, The Catholic Church in Scotland.
Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland,* Vols. III. and IV.
Forbes Leith, *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics,* 2 vols.
Blundell, *Catholic Highlands of Scotland,* 2 vols.
Spalding Club : *Records of Scots Colleges.*
Wodrow's *Correspondence,* 3 vols.
Historical Notices in *Catholic Directories for Scotland.*
Cunningham, *Church History of Scotland,* Vols. II., III.
Stephen, *History of the Scottish Church.*

I

The historical evidence is incontestable that the majority of the nation remained Catholic for well nigh forty years after the Revolution of 1560. In the first quarter of the seventeenth century

there were still " multitudes of Catholics " in the Lowlands, while in the Highlands generally " the new light " was not even to dawn for another hundred years. The robber nobility and the ministers of the new gospel had in reality little sympathy in common, but so closely were their respective interests bound up together that they were thoroughly in agreement on one point. This was the policy of repression, the chief aim of which was the total extinction of the Catholic priesthood among the people. Their opportunity came when the priests of 1560 were dying out, and they succeeded only too well in depriving the rising generation of all the aids to the Catholic Faith. But they would not have succeeded so well had there been a succession of bishops to perpetuate within the country a constant succession of priests. Ireland, too, had her colleges abroad, but they would never have met the need. The misfortune of Scotland was that the numerous body of faithful priests were either betrayed or deserted by their natural leaders, just as the people were deserted or betrayed by theirs. From an early date the clergy cried out to have bishops among them—not bishop-peers of the realm, but missionary bishops to work and suffer with themselves. What was afterwards done in the little college of Scalan could more easily and more widely have been done then. It is pathetic to read in the records the successive appeals to Rome till 1681, in the time of the prefect Winster, when it was again pointed out: " Had we preserved the episcopal succession, we should have

had sufficient priests, and the number of Catholics would not have daily diminished." At last a bishop was given to Scotland in 1695, when it was too late, except to bind up the remnant that was then left to the Faith. It is not for a moment denied that many had fallen away from cowardice or worldly interest, though most of even these were ready to return to the fold on the first opportunity of toleration. But for years the vast majority were open, steadfast Catholics. The contention is that if there had been from 1560 onwards missionary bishops to keep up the home supply of priests, the onset of an insolent minority, even with the whole civil power at its back, would have remained permanently "stabilised." Scotland, from 1560 to 1620, was not a missionary field like China or Japan. It was not a case of converting to the Faith, but of preserving in the Faith the majority of the nation, accustomed to having priests among them in their various parishes. However, other counsels prevailed, and it was not to be. When the priesthood of 1560 died out, instead of a constant and uniform succesession of clergy, there was only what proved to be for many years the scanty and uncertain supply from the colleges abroad.

These were at first four in number. As early as 1576 a college for the education of priests for Scotland was established at Tournai, and after being transferred successively to Pont-à-Mousson and Louvain, was finally settled at Douai. The founder was James Cheyne, who had been rector of Aboyne, and in exile became canon of Tournai

and professor in the university at Douai. Several others of the 1560 clergy contributed to its upkeep, among them William Meldrum, formerly precentor of Aberdeen, who founded four burses; John Wemyss, chaplain at Bruges; John Grier, canon of Anderleb; and Cuthbert and George Christie, canons of St Quentin. Mary Queen of Scots also aided what she called "Cheyne's Seminary." Cheyne himself was rector for the first four years, after which he placed the establishment under the charge of Fathers of the Society of Jesus. A great benefactor later was Hippolytus Curle, son of Queen Mary's secretary, who attached to his burses home-journey money, viz., "viatics to seminarists who should be sent by their superiors to Scotland as secular priests and labourers in the vineyard of the Lord." The next to be founded was the Scots College in Rome by Pope Clement VIII. The history of the Mission Oath to be taken by the students is interesting. In 1620 it was to return to Scotland, immediately after ordination, on the completion of their studies. In 1625 it was added that they should not enter any religious Order till they had spent at least three years as secular priests on the Mission. And in 1660 they were absolutely not to enter any religious Order, even on the Mission, without the express sanction of the Holy See. The Scots College in Paris was founded in 1602 by James Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, who had been in exile ever since 1560. He bequeathed for its establishment his whole property, which was considerable, to which was added a large

sum left for the purpose by John Leslie, bishop of Ross. To the college was also assigned the estate of Grisy, which had been acquired in 1325 by David, Bishop of Moray, to provide four burses for poor Scots scholars attending the university of Paris. The foundation was placed under the protection of the prior of the Carthusians, who was to have the title of rector, while a native Scotsman was always to be the principal residing in the house with the students. The erection of the Scots College in Madrid was due to Colonel William Semple (a worthy son of a worthy house in 1560) from his savings acquired in the service of Spain. The deed of foundation, dated 10th May 1627, may be seen in the *Miscellaneous Papers* of the Maitland Club : " Escriptura de Fundacion y Dotacion del Seminario de Colegiales Seglares Escoceses en la Villa de Madrid," or, " Writ of Foundation and Endowment of the Seminary of Scottish Secular Collegians in the City of Madrid." It gives clear instructions that there should be as many collegians as the funds could maintain, and that they were to return as priests to Scotland for the work of the Mission.

One would naturally suppose that from these four colleges, if not an ample, at least a constant, stream of clergy should have been forthcoming, but for various reasons this was not the case. The college at Madrid during the whole course of its history sent to Scotland only three missionaries ; in fact, for several years it was turned into an academy for the education of Spanish

young gentlemen. The secular clergy was better recruited for a time from the Douai College, and many valuable missionaries came from the college in Paris. But the vast majority of missionary priests during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries came from the Scots College in Rome.

II

The great name of Bishop Hay now overshadows all who went before him; however, "there lived many strong men before Agamemnon." The records are scanty, but sufficient to give some idea of the devoted men who did their best to keep the Faith alive in Scotland from 1600 onwards. They knew from personal experience how far too few the labourers were for the harvest. The notice of them falls into three distinct periods, according to the different circumstances of their times.

FROM 1600 TO 1695

This was the period of the prefects before bishops were appointed. It is sad that till 1653 the clergy had no head in the country, but were left each to follow his own individual course without the mutual help of common action. In answer to one of their periodical petitions to have a bishop among them, the Holy See appointed a prefect-apostolic with quasi-episcopal powers in the person of William Ballantyne *alias* Bellenden. He was the son of the minister at Douglas

in Lanarkshire, and after his conversion to the Faith studied for eight years in the Scots College in Rome, arriving on the Mission 1649. One of his first acts was to convert his own brother, who had been a colonel in the Covenanting army. Like so many other priests, he was twice imprisoned and banished the country, but did not fail to return. He held the office till his death in 1661, in the reputation of great learning and holiness of life. To him was due the establishment of the line of agents in Rome to look after the interests of the clergy at home. The second prefect, Alexander Winster *alias* Dunbar, was a remarkable man of whom more will be said farther on. He had come to the Mission in 1657 from the Scots College in Rome, and held the office for thirty-six years till the arrival of Bishop Nicolson in 1697, when he became the dean of the clergy. He died in 1708, after fifty-one years of missionary life. The rule of the prefects extended over the whole country ; but as there was a great difference between the Lowlands and the Highlands, both as to the circumstances of the people and the sources for obtaining priests, the two districts are treated under separate sections for this period.

The Lowlands

During this period, 1600 to 1695, the brunt of the continued persecution fell on the Lowlands, the Highlands generally being then inaccessible to the ministers of the new gospel. On the other

hand, to the Lowlands came, with two exceptions, all the priests from the colleges abroad. There was always a chosen band of secular clergy, too few in number, but on the whole constituting the majority of the missionaries. Thus the records show that from the Scots College in Rome alone there came, between 1613 and 1633, at least sixteen priests, and the supply was continuously kept up. One of the first to arrive, Robert Phillip, was in 1613 caught and banished, after he had been only able "to say sax or seiven Masses"; but, of course, back he came, and we hear of him on the Mission as late as 1641. Not one of these devoted men has left any record of himself except Gilbert Blackhall, in his *Brieffe Narrative*, which shows the difficulties that had to be encountered in those days. On one occasion, in fording the River Isla, near Keith, his horse, stumbling into a deep hole, threw him underneath, but he just managed to save his life by holding on to the animal's tail, while he succeeded in clutching the bag "with the Mass things" as it was being carried down stream. On another occasion he had the audacity to be in Aberdeen while the General Assembly of the Kirk was sitting there during Covenanting times. While every house in the town was being searched for him, and the whole country scoured for twenty miles out, he was all the time safe among the cargo in the hold of a vessel belonging to a friendly skipper. He had got a hint of his danger from the clerk of the General Assembly, who must either have been a "crypto-Catholic," or, more probably, at least

a distant cousin. It is remarkable that among the secular clergy of the time there were eight who had been converts to the Faith, including the first prefect and the first vicar-apostolic, as also John Walker, the author of *Presbytery's Trial*, who converted Irvine of Drum and others. They had even a baronet in their ranks, Sir George Innes, who studied in Spain and laboured on the Mission for twenty-five years. Noteworthy also among the secular clergy are the two brothers Leslie, sons of Leslie of Conrack, so often mentioned in the Jesuit letters. William was the first agent for the Mission in Rome, and he held this post for fifty-four years. Equally long-lived was Alexander, whose *sobriquet* was "Hard-boots"; it was he who made the first visitation of the Highlands in the time of the second prefect. Nor should be left unrecorded a priest called Forsyth, or "Forsie"; he reconciled to the Church a Farquharson of Inverey, the father of two Jesuits who were to do good work in the following century.

Along with the secular clergy there worked during this period, but only in the Lowlands, on an average seven Jesuit Fathers, who have the advantage of a full record of their labours in the documents edited by Fr. Forbes Leith in his *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*. It is a remarkable fact that of the six Fathers on the Mission in 1628 all but one had entered the Scots College in Rome for the secular priesthood. A celebrated Father was Patrick Anderson, nephew of John Leslie, bishop of Ross, who was rector of the

college, and gave a noble example to the students of himself going on the Mission in the most difficult times. John Smith, another student of the Scots College in Rome, who reconciled Menzies of Pitfodels to the Faith, laboured for three years as a secular priest before he entered the Society, as also for several years did Alexander Leith, whose special commendation it was that "he lived by choice among the common people and the poor." There were also religious of other Orders during this time in the Lowlands, among them several Benedictines whose names, with the exception of a Father Sylvanus and a Father Leander, are unknown. There was at least one Dominican, Robert Callender, who had been in 1617 a student of the Scots College in Rome. Two other students of the same college became Conventual Franciscans, and worked on the Mission. One of them, William Thomson, eventually retired to the convent of the Dodici Apostoli in Rome, but did not forget his country, as he handed over to the college there the money he had got from Queen Henrietta Maria as one of her chaplains. In the Lowlands there were also at one time during this period six Capuchins, but the names of only two have come down to us. One was Epiphanius Lindsay, who came to Scotland in 1620 and laboured as a secular priest for several years till he was caught and banished. Some time afterwards he reappeared as a Capuchin and he died at the age of eighty-four, still on the Mission. The other was a celebrity in his day. The present writer remembers to have seen

in a corridor of a Capuchin house near Rome the picture of a friar with the inscription: "Friar Archangel, Scotsman," below which was given in small print at great length a marvellous biography. Friar Archangel has by some been considered a myth, but there can be no doubt that such a person existed and worked as a missionary in the Lowlands of Scotland. His name in the world was George Leslie; he is on the register of the Scots College in Rome as having entered there in 1608; in 1623 he came to this country as Father Archangel Leslie; there is a report from him of the year 1626 in the archives of Propaganda; he died at Aboyne in 1637. What is mythical is the accretion of circumstances, like his noble and even royal birth, to be found in his biography, written in Italian by Rinuccini, and translated into most of the languages of Europe. How he was singled out in this way is a mystery.

It is doubtful whether there ever were at any one time, taking the secular and religious priests together, more than twenty missionaries actually working the Lowlands of Scotland. Owing to capture and banishment, they were frequently much fewer, sometimes only four or five. Their education for several years abroad must, in spite of every disguise, have given them an exotic appearance which easily exposed them to detection. No wonder that "the multitudes of Catholics," recorded in the first years of the century, melted away in the course of it.

The Highlands

Though for most of the period, 1600 to 1695, the penal laws were a dead letter in the Highlands, yet there was another difficulty which meant the gradual extinction of the Catholic Faith among the people. However it is explained, it is a remarkable fact that during the seventeenth century there were no vocations to the priesthood among the West Highlanders and Islesmen. They had a rooted objection to their children being sent abroad for their education. Prefect Winster urged the obvious remedy : " It is most necessary that the youths be taught on the spot the knowledge necessary for sacred orders." But he urged in vain ; no bishop was given to train and ordain till far too late. The colleges abroad had enough to do to keep the Lowlands supplied with the Lowland students who came to them. The result was that the people, deprived of Mass and the Sacraments after the priests of 1560 had died out, were gradually drifting into ignorance of the Faith ; and all would have become, as some eventually became, an easy prey to the ministers of the new gospel. But Ireland came to the rescue, unfortunately not to meet the whole need, but as far as she was able. In those days the people of Erin universally knew their own language of the Gael. During the seventeenth century, with only two exceptions, all the priests working in the Highlands and Isles were Irishmen, and they came in three divisions, one after the

other. First came about 1619 seven Franciscans —Patrick Hegarty, Edmund Cone, Patrick Brady, Cornelius Ward, Paul O'Neill, Daniel O'Neill, and John Brady. The question was mooted of having Patrick Hegarty consecrated as bishop of the Isles. Fr. Hugh Semple, S.J., with the Catholic breadth of view that must have come from his ancestor in 1560, urged the matter: "I have desired for many years to see a bishop in the wild islands of the Hebrides to instruct and form the priests . . possessing the same authority as the bishops of Ireland." The result was that in 1634 a favourable resolution was come to in Rome; but unfortunately it went no farther. The second division of Irish priests came in the middle of the century. The two most distinguished were sent by St Vincent de Paul—Francis White and Dermit Duggan. At the same time there were a Franciscan, Francis M'Donnell, and three Dominicans, George Fanning, a Father Primrose, and another referred to in the inscription on a chalice preserved at Morar: "For the use of Friar Vincent Marian, O.P., missionary in Scotland, 1658." Between the second prefect and Francis White, C.M., there existed great mutual esteem and affection. The Vincentian, writing in 1665 to his superior in Paris, says: "I did not receive the letter of Your Reverence until the month of June, because my devoted friend, and at present my superior, Mr Winster, did not wish to risk (forwarding) it, not knowing where I might be, for since last September he had heard nothing from me. I was indeed very far from him, in the

Western Islands all that time, and so had no chance of writing to him." Mr. Winster writes to Paris in 1679: "The good Mr. Francis White (a truly Apostolic man) died towards the end of last January. After the event I went in fearful weather to visit the localities which he used to frequent, in order to console as best I could the poor people he served for so many years. God's peace be with him. If any of his countrymen could be sent to take his place, it would be a great help to us. Others, as you are aware, are of no use to us, as they do not know the language." But the prefect had another saintly correspondent in the Venerable Oliver Plunkett. To the martyred archbishop of Armagh is due in great measure the sending of the third division, all of them secular priests, from Ireland towards the end of the century. They are given on the lists as Messrs Cahassy (Casey), Colgan, Conon, Carolan, Devoyer, Hamat, Harnett, Hara, Haggerty, Kelly, Mangan, Morgan, two Ryans and Trevor. The two exceptions have now to be noted. It is recorded of a Mr. Macdonald, who came in 1687, that "he was the first native missioner, but unfortunately died after only six months." By "first native missioner" must be meant native of the West Highlands; for there was another native missioner, and a remarkable one too, who spoke Gaelic and spent his whole missionary life in the Highlands. This was Robert Munro, the friend of Francis White, C.M., and his successor in Glengarry, the interpreter of Alexander Leslie in his visitation of the Highlands in 1678, and of

Bishop Nicolson in that of 1700 ; and one whose name recurs frequently in the reports of Prefect Winster, and in particular as having reconciled to the Church the whole clan Chisholm in Strathglass. He came to the Mission in 1671 from the Scots College in Rome. He was three times in prison for the Faith, and twice banished the country, and at last, after thirty-two years of incessant labour met the death of a martyr. On 14th January 1704 he was dragged from his sick-bed by a party of soldiers, thrown like a sack of corn over a horse's back, and thus carried to prison. Here he lay for three days on the bare stone floor without any covering and without as much as a glass of water. As the annalist continues : " On the 17th January it pleased God to release him from his sufferings by calling him to Eternal Bliss."

In the following century there gradually arose a numerous native Highland clergy ; but if it had not been for the succour from Ireland during the seventeenth century, there would have been extremely few Catholics left in the Highlands in the eighteenth to need, much less to give, priests. On the other hand, it is irresistibly borne on the mind that, if only there had been bishops to train and ordain priests at home, the whole of the Highlands and Isles might have been at this day, as they were in 1600, entirely Catholic from Cape Wrath to the Mull of Cantyre.

(B) 1695 to 1759

This was the period of the early Vicars-Apostolic, when active persecution had still to be faced by the clergy and people. The first bishop appointed to Scotland for a hundred and thirty years was Thomas Nicolson, who, before his conversion to the Faith, had been professor for fourteen years in the university of Glasgow. He died in 1718, when James Gordon, who had been his coadjutor from 1706, succeeded him. John Wallace, a converted minister, was coadjutor for thirteen years till his death in 1733. In 1746 Bishop Gordon was succeeded by Alexander Smith.

The outstanding figure of the time was James Gordon. Thomson, in his *Annals*, says of him: "The Mission never seemed to have been reduced to a more alarming condition; and the appointment of James Gordon at this time to be coadjutor was one effect of Divine Providence to save it from ruin." The famine of the "ill years" from 1696 to 1703 had fallen with particular heaviness especially on the Lowland Catholics, most of whom were reduced to poverty after so many years of persecution. "In many districts, where Catholics were formerly most numerous, scarcely one half of them were alive." To crown all, under William of Orange all the penal laws were given a sharper edge, extended now by means of the soldiery to the Highlands, and for thirty years carried out with vindictive rigour. The priests had to take refuge on the hills and moors, and

could only meet their people in the dead of night. Bishop Gordon was a tower of strength to both during the forty-one years of his episcopate. His visitations remind one of the missionary journeys of St Paul: "In journeyings often, in perils of waters," etc. Eight of these he made in the Highlands and Isles; at first he needed an interpreter, but in time he preached to the people in their own Gaelic tongue. He is said to have declared that his own choice would have been to end his life among the Highlanders; and he did not rest till he got them a bishop of their own in 1731. He was the founder of the humble college at Scalan, and in 1725 he had the satisfaction of ordaining as its first-fruits two priests who had received their whole training at home. One was Hugh Macdonald, who six years later became the first bishop in the Highlands. The other was George Gordon, who laboured as a pious and learned priest for over forty years. The pity is that they were the first "heather priests" since 1560.

It is interesting to compare the number of priests in two years during this period taken at random. In 1696 there were only twenty-nine priests in Scotland—twenty-two secular priests, five Jesuits, and two Benedictines. In the Highlands all the clergy were secular priests, seven in number, all still Irishmen, except Robert Munro, whose course was now about run. Only, a year or two later, three Franciscans and one Augustinian came to their aid in the Isles from Ireland. In 1741 there were forty-nine priests in Scotland—

in the Lowlands, twenty secular priests, ten Jesuits, two Benedictines and one Cistercian; in the Highlands, eleven secular priests, two Jesuits, one Benedictine, and two Irish Franciscans. Of these, seven of the eleven secular priests and the Benedictine were now natives of the West Highlands. It is remarkable that the Jesuit Fathers in none of the periods under review ever did missionary duty in the Highlands proper farther west than Strathglass, while they served long and faithfully in upper Deeside. The brothers John and Charles Farquharson were devoted missionaries. Among the secular clergy, besides Bishop Wallace, there were seven who had been converts to the Faith, one being Colin Campbell of the Lochnell family. They also had with them for a few years on the Mission, before he went to Paris to be director of studies, the celebrated Thomas Innes, the father of reliable Scottish history. It will be seen that, in the course of this period, there was a gradual slight increase in the number of the clergy due to the college at Scalan, which also became the great feeder of the colleges abroad. One cannot help thinking what might have been had there been only two or three missionary bishops like James Gordon when the majority of the nation was still Catholic.

(C) 1759 TO 1800

This was the period of comparative tranquillity, when priests were on the whole let alone, and there was no general persecution of the people.

The outstanding figure of the time is Bishop Hay. He had not the administrative tact of the great prefect Winster, nor can his missionary labours labours compare for a moment with those of Bishop Gordon, yet his commanding talents have earned for him the title of " the high priest, who in his life propped up the house and in his days fortified the temple." After the '45 the faithful remnant was a bruised reed. He infused courage into both clergy and people. His predecessor, Bishop Grant, and his coadjutor, Bishop Geddes, as well as the three Bishops Macdonald, who successively ruled in the Highlands, looked up to him in all their difficulties. His writings made him a celebrity in England, and more so in Ireland, while they have perpetuated his name as a living memory among the faithful in Scotland. His time was one of consolidation, especially in the matter of finance, in which he was a past-master. The suppression of the Society of Jesus at first threatened to be a great blow to the Mission ; but the twelve Fathers then in Scotland were allowed to remain, and became secular priests. The civil governments of France and Spain seized the Scots Colleges at Douai and Madrid on the plea that they were Jesuit property ; but on its being clearly shown in the Deeds of Foundation that both were for the education of secular clergy, and only administered by the Fathers as superiors of the students, they were recovered for the Mission. Rome and Paris had borne the heat and burden of the long day of persecution, but now Spain was at last able to

come in at the eleventh hour to supply the country with many devoted missionaries. Mr. (afterwards Bishop) Geddes effected the transfer of the college to Valladolid, and the name of San Ambrosio evokes an enthusiasm that neither Rome nor Paris can lay claim to. The recovered college at Douai lived only till the French Revolution, and all that now remains of it and of the college in Paris, is the foundation of twenty-two burses in French seminaries for Scottish students. However, Douai in the short time, sent a valuable supply of priests, among them John Chisholm, who was afterwards bishop in the Highlands, and Robert Menzies, who had charge of the Highland congregation in Edinburgh. Its last rector was John Farquharson, the founder of a fund for retired priests called "The Old Man's Money," who was later the second resident priest in Glasgow. At the end of the eighteenth century priests began to arrive from the College of Propaganda in Rome. Norman Macdonald, in a letter of 1805 to the Cardinal Prefect, calls himself "the first Scotsman who had the honour of being educated at the venerable College of Propaganda." It would appear also that no secular priests came from Ratisbon till later.

The recovery of the two colleges was providential. In the year 1800 there were in all Scotland only forty priests—all of them now secular clergy —twenty-eight in the Lowlands and twelve in the Highlands. Whatever the reason, the religious Orders no longer sent missionaries; the last had been William Pepper, O.S.B., who was

the first resident priest in Dundee. The number given for the clergy in the Highlands is misleading, because (as will be seen farther on) as many more accompanied the large bodies of emigrants at various times to Canada. As soon as the Highlanders had a bishop of their own they had a college of their own which was the means of producing a numerous West Highland clergy, principally of the clan Macdonald. In 1800, taking together those who went to Canada with those at home, the number would have been between twenty-four and thirty. The present writer is not alone in thinking that in many respects, in spite of reasons of economy, it was a disadvantage to the Highlands when this college with Highland-born superiors was given up.

III

There is no occasion here to dwell on the details of the penal laws which weighed upon Scottish Catholics from 1560 till 1759 in their full force. It is enough to recall that when later, in 1778, they were brought for the first time to the knowledge of the British Parliament, Englishmen were fairly astonished. The patriot Wilkes gave the general verdict that these laws of the old Scots Parliaments were more barbarous than those of England and Ireland. But further—what Englishmen could not be expected to realize—they were enforced with a systematic tenacity of

cruelty unknown in the other two countries. The ministers of the new gospel never relented in bringing into operation the full weight of the civil power. A report of 1630 refers to their " lunatic hatred " as only explicable by diabolical possession. Curiously enough, the same idea occurred to Edmund Burke a century and a half later, when he described their spirit as " akin to the malignity of demons." Their method of conversion was to threaten their excommunication which, by the law of the land, meant outlawry and the loss of all property ; and when some poor wretch succumbed to the threat, they only laughed with satanic glee at his qualms of conscience. Even honest Cunningham (who, in his heart, must have been ashamed of them) appears to be of the same opinion : " Every pulpit (*i.e.* of the new gospel) was like the crater of an active volcano, belching forth fire and smoke." Yet it has to be noted that for the first hundred and twenty years the Highlands almost entirely escaped this persecution, but that they had more than their share of persecution during the years that followed.

The Lowlands

It is not for a moment denied that a great source of mischief was " crypto-Catholicism," or external conformity to the new gospel in the hope of better times or on the chance of meeting one of the now rare priests in order to be reconciled to the Church. Sad to say, the Huntly who

fought for the Faith in 1594 set the bad example to humbler men. Truth is stranger than fiction: the very Argyll, whom he defeated, later became a Catholic, and rather than renounce the Faith threw up all he possessed to the nearest Protestant heir, his son "Grumach" of questionable fame. Huntly conformed twice, and twice recanted, dying "a devout son of the Church" in 1636. But his bad example misled others who had not his influence or power. This was seen in the years 1625–28, at the beginning of the reign of Charles I., when there was a lull in the storm and Catholic hopes revived. A large number of "crypto-Catholics" threw off the mask. "There was an immense and daily increase. The Faith was openly professed by some men of the highest rank, a large number of the barons and lesser lords (the lairds), and a considerable body of the common people. The common people particularly are ready to open their minds freely when they come across a Catholic priest, and are earnestly desirous for the restoration of the ancient Faith." (*Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*, I. pp. 36, 40.)

However, it would be wrong to suppose that "crypto-Catholicism" was anything like universal. There was a far greater number in the first quarter of the seventeenth century who never "bowed the knee to Baal." But the case of their children was desperate, and a whole generation descended from Catholic parents must have grown up without any of the helps to keep the Faith alive. The few priests there were could not over-

take all, and they were being continually hunted down, imprisoned and banished. Further, children were on a large scale forcibly taken from their parents to be brought up in the new religion. Prefect Winster, who lived within living memory of those times, mentions in particular the children of the Earls of Douglas, Erroll, Winton, Sutherland and Caithness. It is calculated that during the bitter persecution from 1628 till 1660, especially in the time of the Covenanting ascendancy and of Cromwell, fifteen thousand of the Faithful either perished by the sword or famine, or left the country as exiles. To take one of the many instances, there was a prohibition to employ Catholics as servants, and "consequently the country is full of poor Catholics, who were formerly accustomed to earn their living by service, and are now compelled to beg their bread from house to house." Many of them had to flee to the hills and woods, where most of them died of cold and hunger; others fled to the north of Ireland. But by 1660 the point of "stabilisation" had been reached in the Lowlands, where the few priests available were fairly sufficient for the number of the Faithful remaining. The number now began steadily to grow by natural increase and conversions, when forty years later a calamity of a different sort, the famine of the "ill years," reduced it by one-half. This was the saddest time the faithful in the Lowlands ever came through. It was also a time of bitter persecution. But all the records show that to the consolation of Bishop Gordon the people univer-

sally remained steadfast to the Faith "like the first Christians."

The Highlands

As has been already pointed out, the circumstances in the Highlands were altogether different. There was no "crypto-Catholicism," except on the part of a few chiefs having dealings with the Lowlands, one of them being old Glengarry, whom Francis White, C.M., reconciled on his deathbed. As also explained, they were all Catholics there, but had no priests till Ireland came to the rescue as far as she was able. There is a remarkable agreement between Prefect Winster in the middle of the seventeenth century, Bishop Gordon at the beginning of the eighteenth, and Bishop Hugh Macdonald half a century later, that such Highlanders as appeared to have fallen away were not in reality "heretics," but for want of priests only "ignorant" of the Faith. Bishop Gordon, in his report to Rome for the year 1730, states that, during his visitation of the Highlands, in one place where he found only twenty Catholics he left seven hundred, in another where he found a hundred and fifty he left eight hundred, in another six hundred instead of a hundred and twenty, and in another where he found none he left three hundred. Wherever he appeared the whole population of the glens and straths came to see and hear him. He adds: "In most places where the missioners constantly resided among them, their number (as Catholics) was doubled,

tripled and quadrupled." In the previous century the Franciscan missionaries reported the conversion of twenty thousand Highlanders and Islemen; it was even truer then that it was not a case of bringing them into the Church, but rather of bringing the Church to them. As late as 1788 it is reported to Rome that in Kintail, "where twenty years ago (*i.e.* in 1768) there was but one Catholic, there are now from three hundred to four hundred converts steadfast in the Faith." The case of Lochaber is singular. There, too, for want of priests, the people had become ignorant of the Faith. At last they had a Highland priest in their midst, who, however, could make little or no headway with them. "Heretics" they had never become, but neither would they become practising Catholics. They respected him, calling him Maighster Ian Mor; but in spite of his name he was not equal to the need. In 1763 "he was succeeded by the famous Mr M'Kenna, an Irish priest of gigantic stature and prodigious strength," who did not hesitate to invoke the aid of the secular arm. It took him six years, but he left a flourishing Catholicity which overflowed into the neighbouring desolate region of Badenoch.

It was not till 1690 that persecution fell on the Highlands in any way comparable with that endured by the faithful in the Lowlands. It lasted for sixty years, growing in special intensity after each rising for the Stuarts. Garrisons of soldiers were stationed in various districts for political reasons, but strongly blended with hatred

of the Catholic Faith. The opportunity of the ministers of the new gospel had come at last. Now, under the protection of the soldiery, they were for the first time able on any great scale to penetrate the Highlands. In 1707 their Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge was founded, and an annual grant of one thousand pounds came to it from the Government. Children, and even adults, were in many cases dragged by force to hear the new preachers. But it was all in vain; wherever there were priests, this new method of Christian evangelization was an utter failure. In fact, this was the very period when Bishop Gordon and others were gathering more and more into the Catholic fold. It is amusing to read, year by year, in the contemporary Wodrow's *Correspondence*, the laments about the extraordinary growth of Popery in the north and in the Isles. Cunningham admits the failure, and regrets that the first fervour of the new gospel did not reach the Highlands in 1560. His regret is based on the false supposition that this first fervour converted even the Lowlands, where the overwhelming majority remained Catholic for years. Then, again, the Highlanders of those days would not have tolerated so tamely the methods of conversion then employed. The bleached bones of the preacher and his "rascal multitude" on a hillside would have told the tale to a succeeding generation. However, the ministers of the new gospel had unfortunately better success in those districts of the Highlands which the priests, owing to the fewness of their

number, were unable to attend, or where they were altogether prevented from entering. There, as the eighteenth century advanced, the people fell an easy prey. In course of time they had lost knowledge of the Catholic Faith, and readily enough took to the first religious teachers that came their way. There is a saying to this day in Ross-shire that "the priests will come back again." At first it was the hope of a Catholic people; to-day it is the expression of fear. Yet the truth will come out occasionally, as when recently a Highland woman said to her minister, "It was an evil day when we left the Old Church." A Catholic friend of the present writer remarked to this minister that by "Old Church" she may have meant the Established. "No," replied the minister with emphasis, "she meant yours."

IV

In the year 1762 the number of communicants is given as six thousand three hundred for the Lowlands, and twelve thousand seven hundred for the Highlands. This method of computation from those who had made their Easter duties, or were admitted to Holy Communion, was the one uniformly employed in reports to Rome. Evidently children were not included in the figures; thus, in 1788, the priest of Knoydart says that after the emigration of six hundred and four of his people to Canada he was left with "five hundred communicants, not counting children." As children in those days were not admitted early to Holy

Communion, it is safe to compute the number of souls as double the number of communicants. This gives twelve thousand six hundred Catholics in the Lowlands, and twenty-five thousand four hundred in the Highlands. The number would have been greater, especially in the Highlands, but for two circumstances. It is estimated that one thousand Catholic men in early manhood fell in battle, or otherwise perished during the rising of the '45—probably below the mark, not to mention the butchery by Cumberland that followed after. Again, shortly before 1762 there had been a great recruiting of soldiers in the Highlands for the wars in the time of the elder Pitt, when six thousand to seven thousand Catholics left their native hills. Most of them settled in the present United States or in Canada. All this must have told on the natural increase of the Catholic population at home.

By 1800 the Catholic population in the Lowlands was close on twenty thousand, first by natural increase and conversions, and again by migration from the Highlands to the towns and even to country districts in the east and south. In Edinburgh alone there was a Highland chapel with a congregation of six hundred. But apart from this, there was to be a great decrease in the Highlands owing to the large emigrations to Canada which took place during the last thirty years of the eighteenth century. There were three principal centres to which the emigrants flocked. The first was St John's (afterwards called Prince Edward) Island at the mouth of the

St Lawrence. Here came in 1772, fleeing from the persecution of the Laird of Boisdale, the colony from South Uist with their priest James Macdonald, followed later by another crowd under the guidance of Angus M'Eachern (a Valladolid student), who later was appointed their bishop. The next centre was the Glengarry district in Ontario, where eight hundred Catholic soldiers had settled after the conquest of Canada by Wolfe. In 1773 the redoubtable Mr. M'Kenna of Lochaber fame led out a body of three hundred from Glengarry to join them, and the Rev. Roderick Macdonald accompanied three hundred more in 1785. Here, too, came the disbanded Glengarry fencibles under the leadership of Alexander Macdonnell, who had been the first resident priest in Glasgow, and afterwards became the first bishop of Kingston for the care of all these Highland emigrants in Ontario. However, the most populous centre of all was the east side of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island, now represented by the diocese of Antigonish. Here came the colonists from Knoydart—six hundred and four in 1773, under the leadership of Rev. Alexander Macdonald, and as many more in 1794 with Rev. Austin Macdonald. But, to judge by the clan names, here too must have flocked Catholics from all parts of the Highlands, most of the priests being Macdonalds, though there were also Chisholms, Grants, etc. It is to be recorded that in all the centres the suffering Highland Catholics were helped with the greatest kindness by the Canadian-French clergy and

people. In Nova Scotia the emigrants came to know the kindly Micmacs, the original inhabitants, all of whom were staunch Catholics. Their priest, a Trappist Father, was called by the Highlanders *A Sagart Ban* from his white habit. A writer in the *Tablet*, of 18th January 1908, affirmed that "in the diocese of Antigonish there are eighty thousand Catholics, of whom no fewer than forty-five thousand are Gaelic-speaking . . . there are sixty Gaelic-speaking priests and fifty Gaelic-speaking nuns . . . and a Gaelic-speaking bishop . . . What is equally satisfactory is that the best Highland Catholic traditions are nurtured and fostered by the people. Home Highland Catholicity cannot hold a candle to the sturdy Gaelic Catholicity of Nova Scotia." The implication is somewhat unfair, all the conditions considered. The statistics of a recent *American Directory* are noteworthy for the three principal centres of emigration, restricting the calculation to the three dioceses of Alexandria for Ontario, of Antigonish for Nova Scotia, and of Charlottetown for Prince Edward Island. For each are given below the number of priests with unmistakable Highland names, and the number in proportion of Catholics having a Highland descent :—

	Highland Priests	Highland Catholics
Alexandria ..	12	12,000
Antigonish ..	59	48,000
Charlottetown	25	24,000
	96	84,000

And it has to be remembered that these three dioceses by no means exhaust the Highland Catholicity of Canada. In the diocese of Argyll and the Isles the estimated number of Catholics is twelve thousand five hundred, but at least fifteen hundred non-Highlanders, principally at Rothesay, Dunoon and Campbeltown, fall to be deducted—leaving eleven thousand. However, at least one thousand should be added from the Highland districts of Aberdeen diocese—making up twelve thousand in all. Only twenty-two of the twenty-eight Argyll priests have unmistakably Highland names, and only three in the Highlands of Aberdeen diocese. Thus the above three Canadian dioceses, taken together, have all but four times as many Highland priests, and seven times as many Highland Catholics, as the Highlands of Scotland. It has been a great loss to the Highlands, but not to the Faith. The constant stream of emigrations, from 1770 to 1800, must have reduced the number by one-half, to twelve thousand five hundred in the latter year. As to what happened in the nineteenth century, one ought to read Mackenzie's *Highland Clearances* to know how men were evicted to give place to sheep and deer. To take Knoydart alone, then under the charge of the celebrated Father Coll Macdonald, in 1851–54 "nearly one thousand members of Father Coll's poor and scattered flock were forcibly ejected from their holdings, their dwelling-houses being torn down and burnt, and the barns and byres in which they took refuge being pulled down about their ears." In the end,

only seventy Catholics were left in Knoydart. And if to this is added the continual departure ever since, year by year, of families from their native glens, the reason is seen why the number of Highland Catholics remaining stands at about the same figure at the present day as in 1800.

In both the Highlands and Lowlands, "even so then, at this present time also, there is a remnant saved according to the election of grace" (Romans, xi. 5). The year 1800 marks the beginning of the great immigration which has brought a flourishing Catholicity to this country.

APPENDIX

THE SCOTS COLLEGES ABROAD

I

THE SCOTS COLLEGE IN ROME

It may be said that the history of the Scots College in Rome is the counterpart of the whole course which the Catholic Faith has passed through since the beginning of the seventeenth century. From it, in the days of stress, came the majority of missionary priests, and that too, uninterruptedly, in contrast to the other colleges abroad, which had their lean periods. Not only its students, but also nearly all its early rectors, laboured in Scotland to keep the Faith alive in the times of persecution. It gave the two apostolic-prefects and most of the bishops to guide the destinies of the Mission. It is to be regretted that there are not ampler records, many important documents having been dispersed and lost during the French occupation of Rome in 1798. The two chief sources of information available are : (1) the " Register of Students " up to the year 1900 printed by the New Spalding Club in one of their *Miscellanies*, which is enriched by bracketed notes as to the location of individuals

in 1905; yet it cannot compare for a moment with that of the Scots College in Spain for fulness of details as to the subsequent careers of the entrants; and (2) the copious notices of the college to be found in the "Life of Bishop Hay" in the *Scotichronicon*, especially at pp. 25 *sqq.* and 191 *sqq.*; Stothert, the author, had access to important papers, then at Preshome in the custody of Bishop Kyle, but which now are in St. Mary's College at Blairs. All the extant historical sketches are evidently taken from this source, except one to be found in the *Catholic Directory for* 1859, which, however, adds little of importance.

It is probable that a search in the archives of Propaganda may in the future furnish more information, but meantime enough is available, with recourse to subsidiary aids, for a passable account.

The college was founded by Clement VIII. on 15th December 1600 with all the privileges of a pontifical institution, including the power given to the rector to confer the doctorate and the other academical degrees. Thus forty years were allowed to elapse from the Revolution of 1560, during which the old clergy who remained faithful were fast dying out. Gregory XIII., the founder of the English College, had indeed proposed twenty-five years earlier to erect one in Rome also for the Scots, but was diverted from his intention by the plea that his purpose would be better served by subsidising the establishment at Pont-à-Mousson, afterwards settled at Douai. How-

ever, when it was seen that this house turned out very far from being a centre for the secular clergy like that of Cardinal Allen, both William Chisholm, bishop of Dunblane, and John Leslie, bishop of Ross, urged the foundation in Rome. It was not till 1602 that a beginning was made with eleven students in a house in the Via Tritone. Two years later they were lodged in a more commodious building on the present site in the Via delle Quattro Fontane. Times have changed; the position was then semi-rural, with a vineyard extending behind. Five thousand crowns, or about one thousand three hundred and forty-four pounds sterling, were paid for the property. As endowment Clement VIII. attached to it what the bishop of Dunblane had been able to recover of the old Scots Hospice at Sant' Andrea delle Fratte, as well as other house property in the city, together with revenue from two Neapolitan abbacies. Cardinal Borghese, afterwards Pope Paul V., was named protector to look after the interests of the college. It would appear that in the Bull of Foundation the purpose was not restricted, as in the Foundation Deed of the Scots College in Spain, to the training of secular priests for the apostolic work of the Mission, but also included the education of Scottish exiles generally. This has to be borne in mind as regards the subsequent careers of many of the earlier students. In course of time, owing to the limited resources, by successive acts of the Holy See, the more general purpose was finally excluded, admission being given only to boarders

who could pay their own way. The history of the college, in view of the marked distinction of circumstances attending each, may, for the three centuries up to 1900, be distributed into seven epochs.

FROM 1602 TO 1615

This period is one of peculiar interest. For most of the time the rector was Paolini, a domestic prelate of the Pope, who appears to have been an excellent superior, and to have constantly impressed on his students the need for missionary priests to keep the Faith alive in Scotland. Yet of the fifty-seven who entered during twelve years only seven continued their residence to be ordained as secular priests. Eight joined the Society of Jesus, and seven went to other Religious Orders, while six died during the time. No fewer than twenty-nine left without any vocation to the priesthood, but probably the majority of them were exiles only resident for their education. One may be inclined to infer that Scotsmen sadly lacked the enthusiastic ardour for martyrdom which was displayed by the English students in their colleges in Rome and at Douai. But it has to be borne in mind that by now, even for England with the passing of Elizabeth's sanguinary reign, the martyr's palm was not so easily got, and that in Scotland never was there much hope of being more than a confessor for the Faith. The ruling powers in Scotland were averse to the shedding of blood outside

of political and personal quarrels. They took another, and for so small a country, a more effectual way, which was to arrest all missionary priests, detain them in the loathsome prisons of the age till their health and constitutions were undermined, and then ship them overseas. W. E. Brown in his *John Ogilvie* (p. 83), explains the change of policy adopted by Cecil in England, which was taking a leaf out of the Scottish book, namely, no longer to hang and quarter, but "to use such prisoners as a means to discover those who welcomed them. With this information he (Cecil) was able to proceed; by fines, by imprisonment, by exile, he broke up or deracinated those families in which the Faith was preserved." With England falling into line, the ministers of the new gospel in Scotland took good care to see that this policy was even more effectually than ever carried out. This will explain how, of the twenty-two priests who went from the college in one way or other during this period, fifteen elected to join religious orders. The deported secular priest would be cast adrift without any assured refuge; the religious could depend on succour in the nearest house of his brethren. Yet the secular priests went to meet their fate, all except one, David Coalville, who appears never to have returned to Scotland, but to have gone to Spain, where he became professor of Hebrew in the Escurial. Robert Phillip, one of the original eleven, "after saying only sax or seiven Masses," was betrayed, some say by his own father; and he is heard of later as an

Oratorian and chaplain to Queen Henrietta Maria in England. On the other hand, Andrew Robertson, an entrant of 1614, was able to keep out of the clutches of his pursuers from 1621 till 1643. Those who left the college to become Jesuits were not allowed to forget their native country, where almost all without exception spent the time allowed them in the cause of the Faith. At least two of those who joined other religious orders are known for certain to have gone to Scotland. William Thomson, one of the original eleven, who became a Conventual Franciscan, laboured on the Mission for several years, and later through the influence of his former fellow-student, Robert Phillip, is found among the chaplains of Queen Henrietta Maria. During the civil war between king and parliament he returned to Rome, and ended his days in the house of his Order at the church of the Twelve Apostles. As chaplain to the queen he had acquired some money, all which he handed over in 1645 for the building of the college church and the enlargement of the house. The other was George Leslie, an entrant of 1608, who became a Capuchin under the name of Friar Archangel. He was repeatedly in Scotland, and at last, worn out with labour, died in his mother's house at Aboyne on Deeside. He obtained a posthumous fame by the publication of a book entitled *Il Cappuccino Scozzese*, attributed to Rinuccini, bishop of Fermo, a Spanish version of which was eagerly read all over the Peninsula. The English version on its appearance created great surprise, as many of the particulars did not

accord with his life story, nor was he of noble, and much less of royal, descent. The present writer suggests a probable solution of the mystery. In a note-book he finds that in the year 1879 he saw in the Capuchin house at Albano an engraving bearing the title: "Frater Archangelus Scotus Fratrum Cappuccinorum," with the indication of its position: "in corridor—nearest to the door leading into the garden." Below the picture was given in very small print a lengthy account of the subject, the substance of which is that Friar Archangel was the son of Baron Forbes, a Calvinist, and Margaret Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huncle (Huntly); he was taken from his mother, a fervent Catholic, and brought up a Calvinist; however, his mother never losing touch with him, he was taught the Faith and reconciled by his uncle, Fr. James Gordon, S.J.; like another St Alexius, he fled from the Calvinist young lady to whom his father had engaged him, and crossed the sea to Antwerp; at the age of twenty-three he became a Capuchin; he was a great preacher, and converted more than three hundred of his fellow-countrymen in the garrisons of the Netherlands; he was made Guardian and Definitor; and died at the age of thirty-six in the year 1606. Thus Archangel Forbes died two years before Archangel Leslie entered the Scots College in Rome. Rinuccini wrote the *Life* in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and the likelihood is that from a confusion of information the two Archangels were rolled into one. Of the twenty-nine who left without priestly vocation, two may

be mentioned. George Strachan, one of the original eleven, was a wandering Scot, "travelling in Eastern countries," and according to Dempster "a man of vast erudition." The other, an entrant of 1612 was David Seton, who became chancellor of Scotland. He conformed to the new gospel as a crypto-Catholic, intending to cheat the devil in the end by having a priest constantly residing in his house; but it so happened that he died without the priest.

FROM 1615 TO 1625

On the death of Monsignor Paolini the college was left for some time without any resident head, and the students themselves petitioned to be put under the direction of the Jesuit Fathers. This was strongly opposed by the protector, Cardinal Barberini; however, the Pope, Paul V., granted the request. The first father to be rector was Patrick Anderson, nephew of John Leslie, bishop of Ross, who had come from Scotland, and was at the time professor in the Gregorian University. He drew up the Rules, which, with some alterations, are in force at the present day. He practically excluded from the foundation all students other than those who were to follow the course of three years' philosophy and four years' theology, while it was still left free to them to join any religious order. Father Anderson's heart was in the work and the perils of the Mission, and in 1622 he returned to Scotland with the

ardent desire to be a martyr like the Venerable John Ogilvie. However, it was not to be; he met with the usual fate, and only survived two years after his release from prison. The case of the Venerable John Ogilvie was to be the only exception to the rule. The successor in the rectorship was George Elphinstone. Of the thirty-six entrants during this period twelve left as having no vocation to the priesthood, four died, six entered the Society, and seven left to join other religious orders, leaving seven to be ordained as secular priests. The only notable sent out was an entrant of 1619, George Conn, who was a boarder paying his own way, and never went on the Mission. He is the author of a book, which made a stir in its day, on the *Twofold State of Religion among the Scots*. He held various offices in Rome, among others that of secretary to the Congregation of Rites. He was sent to London on an embassy to Charles I., and, as the result, was on the point of being created a cardinal when he was taken off by death.

FROM 1625 TO 1660

The period from 1625 to 1660 may be called that of the first Mission Oath. Cardinal Barberini, now Urban VIII., in 1625 ordained that all students in the pontifical colleges should take the obligation not to enter any Religious Order till they had served on the Mission three years as secular priests. Two years later he founded the

College of Propaganda, entrusting the care to secular priests. Yet it is remarkable that, of the ninety-one entrants in the Scots College during thirty-four years, only twenty-four were ordained as secular priests. Fourteen entered the Society, and four joined other religious orders, while forty-nine left without vocation. There were six rectors: George Elphinstone (who had been appointed in 1622) till 1644; William Christie, till 1646; Francis Dempster, till 1649; Andrew Leslie, till 1652; Adam Gordon, till 1655; George Bisset, till 1658; and Francis Dempster again, who held office till 1663. They had themselves been former students of the college, and had laboured on the Mission. Fr. Christie in 1645 began the erection of the college church from funds chiefly supplied by the marchioness of Huntly. In 1653 Fr. Adam Gordon acquired for fourteen hundred crowns the property between Marino and Grottaferrata, which provided a country-house as well as a vineyard for supply and revenue. Over the altar in the old chapel here there used to be a painting that was somewhat of a puzzle—a monk or hermit evidently deprecating something or another to a number of visitors to his cell. We were told it was St Fiacre, who, according to Alban Butler, died in 670, and has dedications all over France; his hermitage at Breüil was a great place of pilgrimage, and originated the French name for a cab. He adds: "Hector Boece, David Chambers and Bishop Leslie relate that St Fiacre, being the eldest son to a king of the Scots, was invited by

ambassadors to take possession of the kingdom; but answered that for the inheritance of a heavenly crown he had renounced all earthly claims." This explains the picture, but Alban Butler remarks dryly: "This circumstance, however, is not mentioned in the ancient history of his life."

During this period several men of note entered the college. At 1626 appears the name of Gilbert Blackhall, whose *Narrative*, printed from the original MS. by the Spalding Club, gives an idea of what the missionary priest had to come through in the middle of the seventeenth century. At 1646 occurs the name of Thomas Forbes, a convert-boarder, son to the first Protestant bishop of Edinburgh. He afterwards continued to reside in Rome, and bequeathed part of his estate to the college. But now comes a group of distinguished men who brought order out of chaos in the work of the secular priests on the Mission. At 1641 appear the entries of two. One is William Bellenden or Ballantyne, afterwards the first apostolic-prefect. The other, William Leslie, was of the family of Conrack, frequently mentioned in the Jesuit letters; he, however, did not enter the Society, but became the first agent for the Mission in Rome. At 1643 is entered John Walker, the author of *The Presbytery's Trial*, a work which he wrote at the instance of Irvine of Drum, whom he had converted to the Faith. At 1651 appears Alexander Winster, otherwise known as Dunbar, afterwards the second apostolic-prefect. Hitherto, the

secular priests in their work on the Mission had gone aimlessly about without guidance under a head. They had frequently petitioned Rome for a bishop, but owing to adverse influence, without result.

In 1649 there met in Paris six priests ordained from the college: William Ballantyne, William Leslie, John Walker, Thomas Lumsden, James Crichton and John Smith. The result of their deliberations was that William Leslie should return to Rome as agent for his brethren in order to petition for the appointment of a bishop as vicar-apostolic, and for pecuniary aid to support at least ten missionaries; the other five to go on to Scotland and do the best they could meantime. The agent, through the patronage of Cardinal Barberini, who approved of the whole proceeding, obtained employment as archivist at Propaganda, thus securing his continued residence in Rome. He succeeded in getting the pecuniary aid, but he had to be content with the appointment of a prefect-apostolic. This, though not all that was hoped for, gave a standing to the secular clergy, which may be understood from the fact that on his death in 1661 the first prefect, William Ballantyne, was buried in the vault of the Huntly family in the ruined Elgin cathedral. His successor, Alexander Winster or Dunbar, may be called the great prefect—a man of consummate tact and prudence—who ruled the Mission till the advent of Bishop Nicolson, when he retired from the charge to end his days in the fifty-second year of his priesthood.

FROM 1660 TO 1723

In 1660 came into force the Mission Oath, whereby the students were now debarred absolutely from entering any religious order or congregation without the consent of the Holy See. It was to be taken not later than six months after admission. The agent, William Leslie, had obtained powerful friends, among others in two prelates who were afterwards raised to the papal chair as Innocent XII. and Clement XI.; and his task for his long life was to see to its faithful observance. So successful was he, that out of eighty-nine entrants forty-five were ordained as secular priests, thirty-three having left without vocation, while four died. With the special permission one entered the Society, one became a Dominican, and five, including Gregory M'Gregor, went to the monastery at Ratisbon. George Bisset, who was rector from 1663 till 1670, at first set the new regulation at defiance, but was taken up sharp by Propaganda. He was followed by John Strachan for three years. Then for ten years the rector was William Aloysius Leslie, the author of a *Life of St Margaret*. He and his cousin, the agent, got on well together in general matters for the honour of the nation; on their joint petition the feast of the holy queen was extended to the whole Church. But in the management of the college they did not see eye to eye. For example, the rector held that a dispensation from the Mission Oath might be got by the students during the Jubilee of 1676

on the accession of Innocent XI. The agent maintained that it could not, without the consent of the third party, namely, the Mission. The strife of the cousins must have given much amusement to the Roman officials. The rector very plausibly contended that the agent should show good example by returning to Scotland in obedience to the oath; the agent retorted that he had never taken the oath in question, but was in Rome to see that it was duly taken by those whom it concerned. William Aloysius Leslie was afterwards rector for a second term, from 1690 till 1695, when matters came to a head. In 1693 Innocent XII. ordered a visitation of the college, which was conducted by Cardinal Barbarigo. It says much for the judgment of the agent that the decree of Propaganda, confirmed by the Pope, followed closely the lines of his statement. In 1706 Cardinal Sacripanti, prefect of Propaganda, obtained the protectorate of the college for himself and his successors in office, and one of his first acts was to hold another visitation by which all the recommendations of Cardinal Barbarigo were enforced anew. This crowned the labours of the indefatigable agent, William Leslie, who had a pathetic *Nunc dimittis* interview with the cardinal just before he died in 1708, in the sixty-second year of his priesthood. William Stuart, ordained from the college in 1688, succeeded him in the agency. Meantime several Scottish Fathers held the rectorship for short terms, among them, William Clerk, afterwards rector of the college in Spain.

Three entrants of this period merit special mention. In 1668 Robert Munro, whose Cause of Martyrdom is in contemplation, arrived from Douai, and went on the Mission in 1671. The year 1677 gives the name of John Paul Jamieson, who is the only one of those days called a doctor of divinity. Yet at least two others are recorded as having made a public defence at the end of both their philosophy and theology, viz., William Ballantyne before him, and Robert Gordon after him. He appears to have made researches in the Vatican archives so as to merit the encomium of Bishop Keith (*Church History*, Appendix) : " much esteemed for his knowledge in the antiquities of this kingdom by all our learned countrymen." Another notable man was James Carnegie of the Northesk family, a convert in the college from 1691 till 1697, who later, by reason of his connection with men in power, was able to mitigate the the severity of persecution for the relief of the faithful. Some tribute is due here to the memory of Cardinal Barbarigo, whose visitation of the college gave him a predilection for Scottish scholars. One of his ancestors was a Doge of Venice ; he was born there in 1625 ; in 1657 he was Bishop of Bergamo, where he was reputed another Charles Borromeo ; he was created cardinal in 1660 ; in 1663 he was transferred to the see of Padua, where he founded a seminary or college so famous as to have a record in a book by J. B. Ferrari : *Lives of the Illustrious Men of the Seminary at Padua.* In the year 1685 there were in it three Scotsmen : John James Jamieson,

professor of theology; Robert Strachan, professor of Greek; and Thomas Nicolson, the future bishop, prefect of studies in succession to John Irvine, who had left for the Mission. The honour is the higher that it came from one who has been placed on the roll of the Beatified still awaiting canonisation, and that our first vicar-apostolic was ordained priest by the Blessed Gregory Barbarigo.

FROM 1724 TO 1773

This half-century may be called the golden age under the old régime. The new agent, William Stuart, did not rest till he obtained from the General of the Society a ruling that only Italian Fathers should hold the rectorship. This removed all friction arising from conflicting interests in the Mission at home. And now there was a succession of admirable rectors: Father Gritta, from 1724 till 1730; Father Martini, till 1733; Father Urbani, till 1738; Father Alticozzi, till 1766; and Father Corsedoni, till 1773. Fr. Gritta, who opened the new era, was, in the words of Stothert: "a man among a thousand." His name for his students was "the young apostles," and he made it a point to be present at their ordination to the priesthood, serving them himself after at table. The name of Fr. Alticozzi was also held in peculiar reverence by his former students. He, on his side, had an equal reverence for them, an example of which is on record: after the door was shut on the departure of George

Hay, John Geddes and William Guthrie, he turned to the other students to say that he firmly believed these three men would have the gift of miracles in their apostolic career. It was the good fortune of the college to have had him as rector for twenty-eight years; and it would have been longer, had he not caught from his students strong Jacobite sympathies so as to give a semi-royal reception to Prince Charles Edward after the death of his father. Clement XIII. disapproved, and Fr. Alticozzi had to give up the rectorship. Of the fifty-four entrants during the period thirteen were either boarders or left without vocation, and four died. Thirty-seven were ordained priests for the Mission, among them six future bishops, James Grant, George Hay, John Geddes and Alexander Cameron for the Lowlands, and, for the Highlands, John and Alexander Macdonald. One of the boarders was a future cardinal, Charles Erskine, who was the son of Colin Erskine of Cambo and an Italian mother, Agatha of the Gigli family. He remained in Rome, and there held various offices, among others that of Promoter of the Faith. In 1793, during the French Revolution, he was sent by request on an embassy to London, and was received with marked honour in England's hour of need. Another boarder, Clement Stuart, in 1763 joined the famous Irish Brigade. Alexander Sloan was afterwards a banker at Leghorn, and, as benefactor has a monument in the college church. The period ended with the suppression of the Society by Clement XIV. in 1773. The Abbé Paul Mac-

pherson, a student at the time, witnessed the scene when an emissary arrived to read the Bull of suppression, and to place Fr. Corsedoni and another Father under arrest. They observed absolute silence, merely bowing their heads in submission to the Will of God.

FROM 1733 TO 1820

This was a calamitous time for the college. There were only eighteen entrants, giving but three priests; and during the last twenty-two years, owing to the French occupation of Rome, the house was occupied by soldiery, and then stripped and left in lamentable disrepair. The students felt keenly the loss of the Jesuit Fathers, both as professors in the Gregorian University and as superiors in the college itself. Five Italian secular priests were given them in succession as rectors. All might have been well if the first that was appointed, Vincent Massa, had been allowed to continue the charge. But, according to Stothert, the Cardinal Duke of York bore some pique against him, which ended in his having to leave after a few months' residence. He afterwards proved himself a worthy and successful rector for years in the great seminary at Montefiascone. The other four turned out to be incompetent in one way or another to deal with at any rate Scottish students. This was so clearly seen by Propaganda that Cardinal Marefoschi, and after him Cardinal Caraffa, strongly advised

the Scottish bishops to send out one of their priests to take charge. But their reply was that they had no priest to spare, and that the college had prospered under Italian superiors. They found out their mistake when too late. Continued complaints reached them from the students, which were found to be well grounded; on the other hand, after the two refusals, Propaganda never repeated its offer. Bishop Hay, on his visit to Rome in 1781, failed to obtain the national rectorship for the college; and it was left to the "ill wind" of the French Revolution to blow this much of good to Scotland. Only one priest who entered during this period needs to be mentioned, Alexander Macdonald, who was an accomplished Latin and Gaelic scholar. His Latin poem, the *Fingaleis* based on Ossian, was received with admiration; and he was a collaborator in the construction of the Gaelic *Dictionary* under the auspices of the "Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland."

In February 1798, French troops under General Berthier took possession of Rome. Marchioni, the rector of the college, fled for his life; and it was now that the Abbé Paul Macpherson first appeared as making history. He had been sent out as agent for the Mission in 1793 in succession to John Thomson, the writer of the *Annals*. He was unable to save the property from spoliation and the church from desecration by the stabling of French cavalry horses. All the valuables were sold to the Jews, some of which (including the high altar painting of St Andrew) were recovered

by the former student, Alexander Sloan. The Abbé took note of everything for future action; meantime his immediate care was to conduct home the Scottish students, together with those of the English and Irish Colleges whose rectors had also fled for their lives. It says much for his powers of persuasion that he was able to bring his charges right through Italy and France itself, meeting with every courtesy from the French officials. In 1799 he was back in Rome; and his attempt in that year to rescue Pius VI. at Savona is a matter of history. Again in 1913, while passing through France, he all but succeeded in getting access to Pius VII. in his prison at Fontainebleau for an important interview. On the return of that Pontiff to Rome, he set himself to recover the college property; and, what had been so long desired, he obtained the establishment of the rule of national rectors from the secular clergy. He himself, at the request of the Scottish bishops, was in 1816 nominated the first rector of the new régime, though it was not till 1820 that everything was ready for the reception of students.

FROM 1820 TO 1900

The college was reopened with five students. The Abbé Macpherson held his first term of rectorship till 1826, when, on his resignation on the plea of advanced age, he was succeeded by Angus Macdonald. He returned to his native district of Glenlivet, where at his own expense

he founded a new Mission at Chapeltown, erecting church, house and schools on ground given him by his friend the duke of Gordon. On the death of Angus Macdonald in 1833 he had to return to Rome and resume the rectorship, only stipulating that he should have the aid of a vice-rector. John Cowie, afterwards rector of the college at Valladolid, filled this office for five years till 1840, when Alexander Grant went out with right of succession. The Abbé died in 1846 in his ninety-first year. Dr Grant then ruled the college for thirty-two years. He himself is entered on the Register at the year 1826; and he had as fellow-students in the Gregorian University, among other famous men, the future Leo XIII., and Antonio Ballerini, the future light in Moral Theology. At the end of his three years' course of philosophy he took the doctorship by a brilliant examination. In the early years of his rectorate he contributed articles to the *Annali delle Scienze Religiose* under the editorship of Cardinal di Luca, and in 1844 was created by Gregory XVI. a doctor of divinity. The writer of his obituary in the *Catholic Directory for* 1879 (p. 159), says that "living on terms of intimacy with many of the first thinkers of Rome, in his younger days he took an active share in their studies, and was a member of several academies." Later, for many years, he was the dean of the Roman rectors, who relied on his tried experience and sound judgment. When the Jesuit Fathers in 1870 were expelled from their houses, they received hospitality in the various colleges, the

honour falling to the Scots College to harbour the rector of the Gregorian University, Father Valerian Cardella. It was due to remonstrances addressed to the Italian government and to the foreign ambassadors, all which came from the pen of Dr Grant in the name of all the rectors, that the Fathers were enabled to continue their academic work. One of his first cares had been the decoration of the church interior in 1847; and it is interesting to note that Father (afterwards Cardinal) Newman was the celebrant of the Mass at the reopening. But the great work which he accomplished was the erection of the new college building. With two thousand pounds which he had collected, his first intention was merely to repair and enlarge the old house; but when nine thousand five hundred pounds of the compensation, which the Bavarian government gave for the suppression of the Ratisbon monastery were placed by the Pope in his hands, he at once determined to rebuild on the plans of Poletti, the architect of St Paul's. It is pathetic that what should have been an unmixed joy as the crown of his labours was to him a sad consummation. Owing to the forced nature of the ground a large part of the funds was sunk underground in the deep foundations. The new house was opened in 1869, but the resources of the college, even with all his own personal money thrown in, were sadly crippled; it was not till five years after that the small number of four students could be admitted. The memory of Dr Grant is revered by the old generation of

students. During the stay at country house they came into close companionship with him at table and in his evening walk. His conversation, with no pedantry about it, was an education in itself. His well-stored mind held information on every conceivable subject, which he conveyed at times with a quiet humour of his own. His recollections of the past were most interesting, and he evidently aimed at handing on the tradition from his predecessor, the Abbé Macpherson. Yet it is remarkable that in all his reminiscences never even once did he say anything, or relate any incident, that would have reflected any honour or praise on himself; he was faithful to his favourite maxim from the *Imitation*, "Ama nesciri et pro nihilo reputari." He died on 26th March 1878, and was succeeded by Mgr. James Augustine Campbell, who had been his vice-rector for twelve years. Mgr. Campbell had entered as a student in 1858, and took his degree of doctor in philosophy; later, in 1876, he was made also a doctor in theology. He was an acknowledged authority on Christian archæology, and introduced the students as well as visitors to the underground world of the catacombs. He spoke and wrote Italian like the most educated native. His health was never good, and as a result he was apt at times to be rather abrupt; but beneath that infirmity lay a brave and generous heart, which was essentially kind. On his resignation in 1897 he was succeeded by Dr Robert (afterwards Bishop) Fraser, who belongs more to the time beyond 1900.

This period supplied the hierarchy in Scotland with four Archbishops: John Strain, William Smith, James Augustine Smith and Donald Mackintosh—and with nine bishops: Alexander Smith, John Gray, John Macdonald, John MacLachlan, William Turner, Æneas Chisholm, Æneas Macfarlane, Robert Fraser and George H. Bennett. Two famous rectors in their day also belong to it: Peter Joseph Grant at Blairs, and William Caven at St Peter's College, Glasgow. During these eighty years, two hundred and fourteen students are entered on the Register, of whom nine died, forty-three left without vocation, and one hundred and sixty-two were ordained priests for the Mission. Many of the priests have risen to various degrees of eminence; but it will be enough to mention two who especially distinguished themselves in their college days. Archbishop James A. Smith and Canon John Joseph Dyer in their time swept up all the available gold medals at the *concorsi*. Mgr. William Barry, in his *Memories and Opinions*, recently published (p. 101), refers to the latter: "John Joseph Dyer took four of these trophies in a single year . . . he became the most learned priest in Scotland, while refusing to take the doctor's degree. . . . Whilst I passed my degree with due recognition I sought no prizes." Yet it is sad that, while the one has been a prolific writer, the knowledge of the other has been from innate modesty barren. However, there have been authors; not to speak of Stephen Keenan of the *Controversial Catechism*, Archbishop William Smith's monumental work,

The Book of Moses: Its Authorship, Credibility and Civilization, reflects a high honour on the college.

. . . . .

With 1901 begins the new era, the history of which is still in the making, and the time has not come for any detailed account. It is enough to say that everything points to a great future for the college. Dr Robert Fraser continued to hold the rectorship till 1913, when he was made bishop of Dunkeld. The present archbishop of Glasgow succeeded him, and was in 1922 followed by Mgr. William R. Clapperton. On Low Sunday in 1926 was opened an extension of the house along the Via Rasella. The ground floor is the new refectory, capable of seating two hundred, and above are two floors for eleven students' rooms each. Further along the wall of the Palazzo Tittoni a house has been erected for the Sisters who are to have charge of the household arrangements. There still remains the erection at Marino of a country-house to match, for the accommodation of superiors and students during vacation. When this is done, Scotland will have kept pace with other nations, and with Propaganda, which have in these years renewed their establishments both in town and country for the benefit of their young Levites.

II

THE SCOTS COLLEGES IN FRANCE

THE Scots Colleges of Paris and Douai belong to past history; yet in their time they played a great part in the task of preserving the Faith in Scotland. Not only did they provide many priests for the work on the Mission, but they were also a refuge to many laymen who thereby obtained the higher education denied them at home without loss of conscience. Both at Paris and Douai there was the advantage of a celebrated university, while in the national institution there was ample room for boarders as well as for students strictly on the foundation of the house. Both colleges, too, could boast of men who afterwards became known to fame in the world of literature and historical research. Unfortunately, many interesting records of their history perished in the French Revolution; but from those that were saved, and from various other sources, a passably sufficient account may be gathered.

The following have been consulted :—

New Spalding Club : *Miscellanies,* Vol. II., *Records of Scots Colleges.*
Scotichronicon, passim pp. 247 to 439.
Memorials of Alexander Innes in 1799.
Memorial of Bishop Paterson in 1823.
Memorial of Bishop Gillis (no date given).
Various memoranda and other papers kindly lent by Monsignor John Turner.

I

In Catholic times there was a constant flow of Scottish students to the university of Paris. It is true that at first many also went to Oxford, where, in 1262, Devorgilla of Galloway founded Balliol College ; but after England became " the auld enemy " the majority followed the national sentiment and felt more at home in the capital of Scotland's ally. In 1325 David, bishop of Moray, purchased the farm of Grisy to furnish a revenue for four burses in the university to students from his diocese. This property is near the town of Brie-Compte-Robert, about sixteen miles as the crow flies south-east of Paris, and in the locality itself is still called " La ferme des Ecossais." It was probably only one among other funds established for Scottish students, who had to find lodgings for themselves in the city. There is in Paris a side-street running off Rue Vallette that still goes by the name of Rue des Ecossais. Most of the men of those days celebrated in Scottish history were educated in the university on the banks of the Seine, among others Hector Boece or Boethius, whose real name was Boyce, the first rector, in 1505, of Aberdeen University, and the author of the largely mythical *History of the Scots* in Latin, the translation of which by Bellenden furnished Shakespeare with his facts for Scottish plays. George Buchanan learned in Paris the latinity, which he employed in embellishing a still more fabulous history of his

country. The advent of sound criticism for a sane Scottish history of early times was to come from another student of the university in the future Scots College. In Catholic times there was no such establishment as a college in the strict sense of the term ; this came later, and in point of fact the college in Paris came into being twenty-six years after that of Douai.

1. THE COLLEGE IN PARIS

The college in Paris was founded by James Beaton, the last archbishop of Glasgow in the old hierarchy, in 1602, or forty-two years after the religious revolution in Scotland. It may be wondered why he postponed the erection so long. But it would seem that, as Cardinal Allen did, he long believed the restoration of the Catholic Faith to its rights to be a likely contingency at any moment through a change of ruler, or at least of the civil administration. Even as late as 1600 both England and Scotland were more than half Catholic in sentiment, if not in actual profession. This explains how he and Allen, together with Father Parsons, engaged in so many negotiations and enterprises regarding the government of both countries. But in the end he saw clearly that it came to be a question of keeping the Faith alive by the education of missionary priests to labour under a persecution, the end of which no one could foresee. The original locality of the college was in the Rue des Amandiers, and Beaton amply endowed the foundation from his

personal funds. He held several benefices in France, including De la Sie Abbey in Poitou, and his accumulated revenue from these sources must have been considerable. Further, after the martyrdom of Queen Mary, James VI. had continued him as his own ambassador to the French Court, and had restored to him the revenues of the archbishopric of Glasgow. By his Deed of Foundation, which is still extant, he settled the government of the college to be in the hands of the Prior of the Paris Carthusians as controlling rector, while the actual superiors residing in the house were to be Scottish secular priests. This explains whythe resident head of the Scots College in Paris always went by the name of the Principal. The founder must have had in his head some good reason for this unusual arrangement. His portrait, which has come down to us, shows the proverbial Scottish long head and shrewd face; what is certain, he obviated effectually the conflict of interests which, in course of time, was a calamity to other Scots colleges. In 1639, by letters patent of Louis XIII., the farm of Grisy, with its four burses, was joined to the foundation, which was confirmed by Louis XIV. in 1678, when he formally incorporated the college with the university of Paris.

It is not clear who were the first holders of the office of principal; it is only from 1643 onwards that the line of succession is known for certain. From that year till 1662 George Leith was in charge. It is noted that in his time many students came from Douai to pursue their higher

studies in Paris. From 1662 till 1682 it was Robert Barclay, who erected the historic building which exists to this day in Rue Cardinal Lémoine, and has inscribed on its portal Collége des Ecossais. He was a scion of the celebrated family of Urie in the Mearns, several members of which are known to history, among them the Barclay in the Russian service whose advice was followed in the great retiral with devastation of the country that led to Napoleon's disastrous retreat from Moscow. The next in order as principal was Lewis Innes, of the family of Drumgask on Deeside. For thirty-one years the college was exceptionally flourishing in his time; he trained three future Vicars-Apostolic as well as sent a regular supply of efficient missionaries to Scotland. He was much employed as councillor by the exiled James II. and his son in their court at St Germains—a circumstance that led to his resigning in 1713 the office of principal, as he could not fully attend to its duties. He survived to extreme old age in 1738, which was also the year in which died his successor at the college. This was Charles Whitford, who had been for some time vice-principal. He was the son of a Protestant bishop of Brechin, and had become a convert to the Catholic Faith in early life. The next to rule the college was George Innes, nephew of Lewis. He had returned to Scotland in 1712 after ordination, and was for some years president of the little seminary at Scalan. He then went back to Paris as prefect of studies, and afterwards held the office of principal

for fourteen years. Then came two Gordons—John from 1752 to 1777, and Alexander till the Revolution. Both had previously worked on the Mission for many years, yet in spite of this experience their tenure of the office was such as to make the bishops at home recall with regret the régime of the Inneses. Yet to the very end there were two of that family in the college—Alexander Innes, the procurator, who stayed on through the throes of the Revolution in order to save the property ; and Henry Innes, the prefect of studies, who returned to Scotland and died at Balnacraig in 1833.

The college in Paris gave to Scotland three of its early Vicars-Apostolic. The first was James Gordon, who studied there from 1680 till 1692. After two years' work at home he became assistant to the agent for the Mission in Rome, where in 1706 he was chosen as successor to Bishop Nicolson. His apostolic career is well known, especially as regards his annual visitations of the Highlands and Islands, which occasioned frequent laments in the Presbyterian General Assembly about "the alarming increase of Popery." It was he who founded the seminary at Scalan, and the regret is that Scotland had not been able to get a bishop like him one hundred years earlier. John Wallace, another future bishop, was ordained priest in Paris in 1708. He was the son of a provost of Arbroath, and had spent some time in the Episcopalian ministry before he was converted to the Faith. Bishop Gordon obtained him as coadjutor to look after the Lowlands, while he

himself had the full intention of spending and ending the remainder of his days among the people of the Highlands, to use his own words : " I long to shut myself up for ever with them." However, the death of his coadjutor thirteen years before him, prevented the carrying out of this resolve. The third future bishop, Alexander Smith, studied in Paris from 1698 till 1709 ; he succeeded Bishop Gordon in 1746 for the Lowlands, while Hugh Macdonald had already in 1731 been consecrated for the Highland district.

Among the celebrated priests trained in the old Scots College of Paris three may be selected for particular notice. Colin Campbell, of the Lochnell family, was ordained there in 1722. He had been an officer in the army, and became a convert on the occasion of his search by order for the arrest of a priest. The story goes that the priest fled from the house, leaving his breviary lying open on a table. Colin Campbell took up the book and became absorbed in its perusal. At last, closing it, he apologised to the lady of the house, as it was thought, for an intrusion on a job unworthy of a gentleman, and drew off his company of soldiers. Yet he was " destined to die at Culloden " ; he was on the field of battle, and as he never turned up anywhere afterwards, he must have been among the slain. Another celebrity was Alexander Geddes, who finds a place in the *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* as " a ready wit and classical scholar." He was in the college from 1758 till 1764. He gained a literary reputation by his verse transla-

tions of Horace's *Satires*, and in 1781 the university of Aberdeen conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws—a distinction to a Catholic unheard of for over two hundred years. He enjoyed the friendship of many literary men of the day, among them Lord Kames, Principal Robertson and Doctors Reid and Beattie; and, though Boswell may not record it, he even bearded Doctor Johnson in his London club. He was, however, an erratic genius, and gave trouble to Bishop Hay. He spent the last years of his life in London under the patronage of Lords Petre and Traquair, and there issued a translation direct from the Hebrew of the first books of the Old Testament. It was condemned by the English Vicars-Apostolic, and fell flat even with the Protestant public who were not yet prepared for the higher criticism of the German school.

Quite a different man was Thomas Innes, the author of the famous *Critical Essay*. After four years in the College of Navarre he was an inmate of the Scots College from 1681 till his ordination to the priesthood in 1691. With the exception of three years on the Mission, and of an occasional journey in search of materials for his works, his whole long life was spent in Paris as prefect of studies, or in some other capacity on the college staff. Thomas Innes may be called the father of sane Scottish history of early times. As the Spalding Club editor (*Miscellany*, Vol. II. p. 114) says, "the *Critical Essay* forms an epoch in the historical literature of our country. Succeeding writers have done little more than expand the

system which he developed in this remarkable work." The author of the Memoir (p. 25) prefixed to an edition of the work declares that "his fame rests chiefly on the *Critical Essay*; its merits have been universally admitted. It has been well remarked that authors who agree in nothing else have united to build on the foundations which Innes laid, and to extol his learning and accuracy, his candour and sagacity." The *Critical Essay* was only the prelude and foundation for his projected *Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*; but, unfortunately, he was only able to publish one volume coming down to the beginning of the ninth century. "It is founded on a careful examination of the best existing authorities. He followed the critical method of the great school of ecclesiastical history in France, with some of whose brightest ornaments he was personally familiar" (Memoir, p. 27). And it will give some idea of the eminence he held in his own day that literary correspondence with him was sought by Wilkins for his *Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ*, by Bishop Keith for his *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, and by Ruddiman for his *Diplomata Scotiæ*. The university of Glasgow was also in communication with him. To sum up, "his researches were always freely available to every one who applied to him." Wodrow, the historian of Covenanting times, once met, or rather saw, him in the Advocates' Library: "a monkish, bookish person, who meddles with nothing but literature": but on conscientious grounds would not speak to him (*Analecta*, III.

p. 56); yet Wodrow might have learned from him something to the purpose. With all this weight of learning, Thomas Innes was throughout his life a humble and saintly man. Accusations of Jansenism were wantonly hurled at him as well as at other men of God; his nephew, George Innes, who was with him in the college, testified to "the deep pain which this calumny caused to the old man."

It will be seen that the Scots College in Paris, during the hundred and ninety-one years of its existence, had a history worthy of its founder. It was the college most in touch with Scotland. It gave unbounded hospitality to priests driven into exile for the Faith, and it was the halting-place for students going to and returning from Rome. As the writer in the *Scotichronicon* (p. 249) says: "Students on their way to Rome were constantly entertained in Paris; and in order to relieve the poor Mission, the expenses of their further journey were defrayed by the superiors of the Parisian college. On their return in like manner, they were always welcome guests to prolong their residence in Paris till they had recovered the use of their native language, and had acquired a practical knowledge of their future duties. The public purse of the college, and the private purses of its superiors, were over and over again opened to assist the pecuniary distress of the Mission. . . . They maintained a weekly correspondence with Rome, and taught the agent there the miseries of his native country, suggesting remedies, and stimulating his zeal till they were obtained."

2. THE COLLEGE AT DOUAI

The founder of the college that eventually came to be fixed at Douai was James Cheyne, who had been parish priest of Aboyne and a canon of Aberdeen cathedral chapter. He opened it in 1576 at Tournai, where he had obtained a new canonry, and he was assisted by several other exiled priests who had got benefices abroad. Among them was William Meldrum, formerly precentor of Aberdeen, who established four burses. Queen Mary, from her prison in England, contributed from her French dowry four hundred gold crowns a year to what she called "Cheyne's seminary." Pope Gregory XIII. also came to his aid. Cheyne afterwards was a professor, and for a time even principal, in the university of Douai. One does not know the circumstances, but now it seems a pity that he had not at once transferred the college there, gathering round him a body of learned priests, exiles like himself, as Allen did for the English college. There would have thus been created a bond of union and a centre of direction to the secular priests working at home under the fire of persecution. The want of it in Scotland is a matter of history, where the priests had to wander aimlessly about, without bishop or superior to guide and encourage them, for over sixty years, and that too in the most critical time for the adherence of the people to the Faith. But political reasons may have been in the way. One of the Spanish governors of the Netherlands,

wishing to please Queen Elizabeth, forced the English college to migrate for a time to Rheims; Douai did not then belong to France, nor did so till the conquest by Louis XIV in 1677. This may also account for the transfer of the Scots College from Tournai to Pont-à-Mousson in 1580. Cheyne had been himself the rector for four years, but he now placed his foundation in the hands of the Jesuit Fathers. The college remained at Pont-à-Mousson for fourteen years, and in 1594 was removed to Douai. There must have been good reasons which now it is impossible to surmise for the subsequent flittings, from Douai to Louvain in 1596, from Louvain back to Douai in 1608, from Douai to Antwerp in 1609, and at last the settlement for good at Douai in 1612. During this time the resources for the education of students to the priesthood had been considerably augmented; in 1602 the whole estate of the founder, James Cheyne, was added, and burses were established by Cuthbert and George Christie, canons of St Quentin, by John Grier, canon of Anderleb, and by John Wemyss, chaplain in Notre Dame at Bruges.

As in the case of the Scots College in Spain, there are two periods in the history of Douai—from 1580 till 1764 under the administration of the Jesuit Fathers, and from 1765 till the French Revolution under that of secular priests. During the first period there was a succession in the rectorship of forty-one Fathers, some of whom were eminent men, and many had themselves done good work on the Mission at home. One

of them deserves particular mention, as he was a great benefactor to the college funds. This was Hypolitus Curle, son of Gilbert Curle who had been secretary to Queen Mary. Before he entered the Jesuit novitiate he bequeathed by his will 60,000 florins "to the seminary of the Scots at Douai," and among its clauses is one providing for "viatics to seminarists who should be sent by their superiors to Scotland as secular priests and labourers in the vineyard of the Lord." His original intention was to provide for burses of a hundred and fifty florins a year each; but he must have changed his mind, as, according to Oliver (in his *Collections* regarding Scots Jesuit Fathers), a new building was erected out of the money so that "he could be justly called the second founder." This became the historic Scots College, which still remains standing, though with another frontage in other hands at 15 Rue des Malvaux. However, it was always understood that the inmates on the foundation were to be students for the secular priesthood. In 1692 another rector, James Forbes, made this clear. Fathers from Scotland insisted on being received as guests to recruit after their labours in Scotland; Father Forbes, with the blunt honesty of his race, told them that "the college foundation was for secular students and only for as many Fathers as were required for the administration." The dispute ran high, and the matter was referred to the General, Thyrsus Gonzalez, who on examining the requisite documents decided in his favour.

The register of students during this first period

has been happily preserved. On the expulsion of the Society from France in 1764 it was taken to Dinant in Belgium, and in 1773 it was brought to Scotland by the last rector there, George Maxwell, who deposited it in his ancestral home at Kirkconnel. According to this register, from 1576 to 1764, there were admitted as many as seven hundred and forty-four students. However, the vast majority of them were boarders who presumably paid their way in full. One repeatedly comes across the historic names of Gordon, Seton, Semple, Menzies and Barclay. Even Irish boys were received: Dalys, Shees, O'Donoghues and O'Callaghans, who usually are noted as having gone off to be soldiers, presumably in the French service. Many of the boarders entered the Society of Jesus. At the year 1629 is entered the redoubtable name of John Knox, without any record of his subsequent career; it would have been the irony of history if he had appeared later in Scotland as a son of St Ignatius Loyola to undo the work of his namesake. One of the early boarders at Pont-à-Mousson earned afterwards a great literary reputation. This was John Barclay, the author of two romances in Latin, the *Argenis* and the *Euphormio*. This latter is alluded to by Sir Walter Scott in his notes to the third canto of *Marmion*. During the eighteenth century the *Argenis* was quite the rage in England, where two translations of it appeared, one in 1772, and the other earlier. Among others, it took the fancy of Cowper, who wrote of it in one of his letters (Grimshawe Edition, p. 261): "It is the most

amusing romance that ever was written. . . . It is interesting in a high degree, richer in incident than can be imagined, full of surprises which the reader never forestalls, and yet free from entanglement and confusion. The style, too, appears to me to be such as would not dishonour Tacitus himself." The genial poet must have read it in the original. One may be permitted to wonder whether John Barclay was not the master of the two fathers of the English novel, Fielding and Smollett. In the early years of the period those on the foundation for the secular priesthood are for most part entered with the note: "Priest: good labourer in Scotland," *ex. gr.*, "Reginald Macdonnell from the mountains." As time went on the custom appears to have been to send the secular priesthood students for their higher studies to the Scots College in Rome. But the great glory of this first period is that it has two martyrs on its rolls. At the year 1596 is seen the name of John Ogilvy, and at 1663 that of Robert Munro. However, neither was long at Douai, the one soon leaving to enter the Jesuit novitiate, and the other after two years going to the Scots College in Rome, where he was ordained priest in 1671. The Cause of the former is well advanced, that of the latter has not yet passed the stage of the Devil's Advocate.

The second period of the Douai College only lasted twenty-eight years; yet short as it was, it was a fruitful one in supplying the Mission with priests. The head of the house was now, after the manner of Paris, called the Principal, and

there were just two sent out by the bishops from Scotland: Robert Grant, from 1765 till 1784; and John Farquharson, from 1784 till 1793, when all was lost during the reign of terror in the French Revolution. It is to be regretted that the records perished, the principal barely escaping with his life. Yet we know from other sources that no fewer than five bishops came from the short second Douai. John Chisholm had entered the Jesuit novitiate, but on the suppression of the Society by Clement XIV. he went back to the reconstituted college, and was ordained priest in 1777. He was consecrated bishop of the Highland district in 1792, and died in 1814 at the seminary which he had founded in the island of Lismore. Another future Highland bishop, Ranald Macdonald, was ordained priest at Douai in 1782; he had the reputation of being an accomplished classical scholar. The college then supplied a bishop for the Lowland district, Alexander Paterson, who had been vice-principal, as well as student, there. He was priest of Paisley when he was chosen for the high office. The other two were Andrew Carruthers, vicar-apostolic of the Eastern Vicariate, and Andrew Scott, vicar-apostolic of the Western. The name of the latter is still a household word in Glasgow as of the builder of St Andrew's cathedral. Among other notable priests was Charles Gordon, whose public statue, representing him in sacerdotal vestments, is to be seen in Aberdeen. Another has to be singled out for special mention, James Carruthers, ordained in 1785 after a six years' course of the

higher studies at Douai. He is the author of a *History of Scotland*, which he undertook too late in life and left unfinished in three volumes. The first two, taking up where Thomas Innes left off, deal with the times up to the accession of the Stuarts; and the third, published in 1831, two years before his death, covers the critical period of Queen Mary's reign and that of James VI. till 1603. One of the *Dictionaries of National Biography* calls him "a Romanist historian"—no doubt because he upset the usual outside view of the men and events that led up to and followed the Revolution of 1560. However, he has been justified by the researches of later historians; and even in his own day he received high praise in a review of his work which appeared in the *Caledonian Mercury* of 5th January 1832: "He is no historical special pleader, far less a fabricator of historical romance . . . he neither trims nor truckles, nor seeks to extenuate or palliate where condemnation is merited . . . though his judgments may not always appear irreversible, the grounds on which they are based are in almost every case worthy of the gravest consideration." James Carruthers had little time for the work during his strenuous missionary career; but had he been able to complete and revise it, he would have been the Lingard of Scotland.

Each period of Douai had a John Farquharson who shed a special lustre on it. The John Farquharson of the first period, who was born in 1699 at Inverey in Braemar, entered the college in 1714, but after some years became a

Jesuit novice at Tournai. Readers of the *Catholic Highlands of Scotland* (Vol. I. pp. 194–206) will find an interesting account of his thirty years' work from 1729 to 1759 as a missionary in Strathglass, which had earlier been completely restored to the Faith by Robert Munro. While in Strathglass Father Farquharson made a collection of ancient Gaelic poems that had come down by oral tradition, and in this he preceded James Macpherson of *Ossian* fame, who appears not to have begun to collect till 1760. In 1759 he returned to Douai to be prefect of studies, but in 1764 had to migrate with his brethren to Dinant. At the suppression on his way home in 1773 he spent some days with his fellow-countrymen in the reconstituted college, and left with them his manuscript collection of Gaelic poems. In Browne's *History of the Highlands* (Vol. I. ch. ii.) is given an account of the search that was made for the missing document. Sir John Sinclair, of *Statistical Account of Scotland* fame, approached Bishop Cameron, who put him in touch with three former Gaelic-speaking students, who all attested to having had the manuscript repeatedly in their hands. Two of them were the later bishops, John Chisholm and Ranald Macdonald, the former making the sad confession that "not one scholar in Douai could *read* the Gaelic." But the principal testimony was from James M'Gillivray, who had been with Father Farquharson both at Douai and Dinant from 1763 till 1773. According to him Father Farquharson frequently read out to the Gaelic-speaking students from his

manuscript, declaring (1) that in it he had not only the *Fingal* and the *Temora*, but also other poems of equal merit apparently unknown to James Macpherson, and (2) that passages of Macpherson's translation did not give the full force of the original, but never that there was any interpolation or addition. It would seem that the manuscript, which a later Celtic scholar said should have been preserved "in cedar wood," was treated with scant respect. On the testimony of the last principal it remained, with some leaves missing, in the college library till 1793, when all was lost in the throes of the French Revolution. And thus was lost, too, an important link in the chain for the argument against the infallibility of Doctor Johnson. Father John Farquharson, S.J., died at the age of eighty-three in 1782 at his nephew's house of Inverey in Braemar. The Abbé John Farquharson, who belongs to the second Douai period, was born in 1748 at Glenconlas in Strathavon, Banffshire. Owing to ill health he had to leave the Scots College in Rome, and finished his studies at Douai, where he remained as prefect of studies till 1781. He was then in Scotland doing missionary work in his native district, perhaps the one of the most forbidding access in the whole country. After a short time as president of the seminary at Scalan, he was sent by the bishops to Douai to succeed Robert Grant as principal. In April 1793, just before the reign of terror broke out, he managed to send home in safety the college staff and students, while he remained on himself till October

of that year in the hope of saving the property. He witnessed on the spot the orgies of blood, and eventually barely escaped with his own life. As a writer in *Scottish Notes and Queries*, of February 1924, says: "The rector played a part worthy of the best traditions of his country; he was the last to leave France, having the satisfaction of knowing that all his students and assistants had landed without harm in Scotland." It was generally believed at home that he had shared the fate of so many priest-victims. The writer of the article on "Scottish Religious Houses Abroad," in the *Edinburgh Review* for January 1864, adds: "When Colonel Spens of Craigsanquhar was at Douai, the superior was the Abbé Farquharson, a man of elegant manners and much respected by everyone . . . he was an accomplished scholar. Spens used to relate that standing at his own door he saw in the distance a tall handsome man of fine presence coming up the avenue. Viewing him through a glass, he said to his wife: 'If I thought he were alive, I should say that is my good old tutor, the Abbé; but I fear he has perished.' However, his surmise was a true one, and he had immediately to welcome his ancient instructor." Of the Douai students the less advanced were drafted to Spain and Aquhorties, while their former principal spent two years in Aberdeen completing the studies of such as were near ordination, among them the two future bishops, Andrew Scott and Andrew Carruthers, Bishop Hay raising them to the priesthood in 1795. In that year John Farquharson

went as the second resident priest to Glasgow. He was succeeded in 1805 by his former pupil, Andrew Scott. He was then for some time priest at Ayr, and afterwards opened the Mission at Elgin in the north. He died at Paris in 1817 on a visit made with the view of recovering the college properties. He left a foundation for the benefit of retired priests, which goes by the name of the "Old Man's Money." He was a remarkable man in his day, though the lapse of time has obscured his memory.

II

The Scots Colleges in France, the one at Douai altogether, and the other in Paris as a resident institution, ended with the Revolution, though it was not for the want of every possible effort to save them. The correspondence of Bishop Hay shows how keenly alive he and his colleagues were to the danger of the situation. In answer to their and similar memorials the foreign ecclesiastical establishments were expressly excepted from confiscation by decree of the Constituent Assembly on 7th November 1790, which act was confirmed by a law of the Convention as late as 8th March 1793. The reign of terror followed soon after; and during it the college building was one of the prisons for the victims of the guillotine. Principal Gordon had left, but to his undying honour the procurator, Alexander Innes, held to his post in order to do all that was possible to save the property. He was just in the nick

of time saved from the axe ; his turn for execution was fixed for 10th Thermidor of the Year 2 (27th July 1794), but happily, on the eve and in the small hours of that date, a few determined men brought the reign of terror to a sudden end, and Robespierre himself instead perished on the scaffold. From the *Memorials* of Alexander Innes it is clear that the property was not confiscated by any public act of authority till the decree of the Directory of 27th July 1798, which ordered its sale "for the good of the nation." Everything in the public funds and the house at Douai thus passed into other hands ; but, whatever was the reason, the farm at Grisy and house property in Paris, as well as the college itself, did not find purchasers. In the following year Napoleon Bonaparte, who had come into power as First Consul, began to restore in his own way whatever remained unsold of foreign ecclesiastical properties. The Sisters, called the Dames Anglaises, recovered their remnant fully into their own hands ; but he pooled the revenues of the Scots and Irish colleges in one fund " for a corresponding number of places in the Prytanée (a godless institution) to be given exclusively to individuals born in Scotland or Ireland." The *Memorial* of 12th Fructidor of Year 8 (29th August 1799), which Alexander Innes presented to " Citizen First Consul," is still extant. It is an able appeal to the Law of Nations and to a sense of justice, and he presses the point that the Scots College is as good a case as that of the Dames Anglaises, it being not for the benefit of Scotsmen generally,

but for Catholic Scotsmen preparing for the priesthood, who could not get the required training from the Prytanée. However, nothing came of it; Innes died in 1803, at his post to the last.

On the restoration of the Bourbons much was expected; but strange to say, there was no result till 3rd March 1824, when Louis XVIII. issued a decree, obtained chiefly through the efforts of Bishop Paterson. It was, however, a very qualified success. The property was indeed restored to the Catholic bishops of Scotland, to be administered by them through their agent in Paris, but subject to the control of the Treasury Department of the French Government, and thus the stranglehold on the funds, originated by Napoleon, has continued to this day. Again, it is not clear why the old community life was not to be resumed, as in the case of the Irish College, but the Scottish students were to board in French colleges and seminaries. Yet perhaps this arrangement need not be regretted. For eighty-one years students from Scotland were at Issy for philosophy, and at St Sulpice for theology; the admirable training which they received in the spiritual life from the Sulpicians, more by example than by word, gave to them, in proportion as they profited by it, the ascetic hall-mark by which they are easily distinguished among the clergy. Since the dispersion of the Sulpicians by the persecuting laws of 1905, Scottish students have been scattered for the higher studies over various diocesan seminaries in France. The present number of burses is twenty-two, proceeding from (1) the rents of the

old college building, the house property in Rue Clovis and the farm at Grisy, and (2) the revenue from investments in the French funds. Thus, for example, in 1907 the total revenue for the year was sixty-one thousand seven hundred francs, or at par nearly two thousand four hundred and seventy pounds. One name has to be recorded with gratitude—that of the Abbé H. Jouannin, priest of St Sulpice, who was for many years the agent of the Scottish bishops. Under his administration he so nursed the funds as to be able to rebuild the property in Rue Clovis in 1890, and add four to the number of burses, previously only eighteen. Since 1905 this remnant of a great Catholic foundation has weathered many a storm. But only the pen of Monsignor John Turner, who has been the agent of the Scottish bishops for the last twenty years, could adequately describe how he countered the three points of M. Briand, and checkmated the persistent efforts of the Franco-Scottish Society.

III

THE SCOTS COLLEGE IN SPAIN

The history of the Scots College in Spain is one of peculiar interest. It had for its founder a soldier of fortune, who had fought for the Catholic cause both at home and abroad. During the first hundred and thirty-four years in its original seat at Madrid it was of little or no use to the

Scottish Mission, and eventually it became practically extinct, only however in God's Providence to rise again in 1771 to a vigorous life at Valladolid. Since that date there has been a regular succession of priests for the work of saving souls in Scotland. The principal authorities for this sketch are the Deed of Foundation and the founder's Will, of which an authentic copy may be seen in the Maitland Club's *Miscellaneous Papers*, and the entries and subsequent destinies of students, told in terse classic Latinity, to be found in the *Records of the Scots Colleges*, etc., published by the New Spalding Club. To these have to be added :—

The Scots Colleges in Spain in the *Catholic Directory for Scotland*, 1873, pp. 161 *sqq*.

Valladolid : Sus Recuerdos y Sus Grandezas, Entrega 89, pp. 613 *sqq*.

Scotichronicon : The Catholic Church in Scotland, pp. 66 *sqq*.

Some valuable notes (1) left by Monsignor George W. Ritchie, and (2) courteously sent by Monsignor Humble from the records in the College.

The founder of the college was William Semple, brother of the fourth Lord Semple, who shares with Lord Seton the exceptional honour of having been always steadfast and true to the Faith in 1560, and afterwards, among the shifty nobility who still retained the Catholic name, but ever subordinated the Catholic cause to their own private or family interests. The Semples of Lochwinnoch remained staunch Catholics for a

century and a half, and it was a sad day for the faithful remnant when, in 1704, the Lord Semple of the time publicly apostatized in parliament. His father had been persecuted by the Kirk for sending him to Douai for his education, and his own son Hugh was later to fight on the wrong side at Culloden. If he had been only able to foresee it, this would have been gall and wormwood to the William Semple, who in his twenty-first year fought for Queen Mary at Langside, and then became a distinguished officer in the army of the celebrated Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma. In one of the *Dictionaries of National Biography* he is branded as a traitor who delivered up Lierre to the Spaniards. But the story is told differently by the writer of the article in the 1873 *Directory* (p. 161): "Passing into Flanders, he served for some time under the Prince of Orange, deceived by the professions of loyalty with which that prince at first strove to conceal his rebellion. In 1573 the Scottish queen, from her prison in England, was able, through the agency of John Seton, to undeceive him, and to notify her pleasure that he should pass to the service of the king of Spain. He immediately obeyed the command of his sovereign. Through his influence three regiments of Scottish infantry and three companies of cavalry (*todos Escoceses*, says the writer in *Valladolid: Sus Recuerdos*), with the fortresses of Guelders, Bruges and Lierre, embraced the Spanish cause. In recompense of these services, and of his heroic defence of Lierre, the Prince of Parma offered him seventy thousand

ducats, but he would accept of nothing. In gratitude for the protection of the Mother of God in a dangerous encounter, he had vowed before her miraculous image at Halle to serve the crown of Spain gratuitously. This vow he religiously observed as long as he enjoyed his patrimony." His brother Gilbert lost his life fighting for Spain in Flanders. From 1582 onwards the Colonel, as he was usually called, was frequently employed by Philip II. in communicating with the Catholic lords in Scotland. In 1588 he came to this country to induce James VI. to join forces with Spain on the dispatch of the celebrated Armada. There is no doubt that our king sat on the fence till he could see on which side the ball of the English succession would roll. On the dispersion of the Spanish fleet by the storms of autumn there were no more private interviews; the colonel was imprisoned, but managed to escape and returned to Spain. There are extant two reports given by him to the Spanish king on the affairs of Scotland, one bearing the date of 1596, the other of 1620. In the former he insists on the deceit of James in his dealings with both Rome and Madrid; he knew his man, who only wanted money. Again, like Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, he deprecated the busybody interference of religious in affairs of State. Colonel Semple died in 1633 at the age of eighty-seven. In 1627 he had legally drawn up the charter of foundation for the future Scots College, entitled "Escriptura de Fundacion y Dotacion del Seminario de Colegiales Seglares Escoceses en la Villa de Madrid" (Charter

of Foundation and Endowment of the Seminary of Scottish Secular Collegians in the City of Madrid), which was in the same words confirmed by his last will in the year of his death. The superiors of the seminary were to be Fathers of the Society of Jesus ; and he laid down that the collegians on the completion of their studies "must return to the same kingdom of Scotland to preach the Gospel and labour for the conversion of heretics, in which they must occupy themselves there ; and, as they shall leave the said seminary for that purpose, let others be received in their place for the same end." He seems to have left amply sufficient means for the endowment of the college. He left an extensive house property, which went by the name of Jacometrezo ; the students were to occupy part of it, while the rental of the rest was to be available for their support. He also left to the college "all his other goods, rights, shares and other possessions."

1. IN MADRID

According to the *Records*, during the period when the college was at Madrid there were only forty-six students altogether admitted. Of these twenty-three, just one half of the number, entered the Society of Jesus ; one became a Franciscan in Madrid ; one died ; eighteen were sent away or left of their own accord as having no vocation to the priesthood ; and just three

returned to Scotland to labour on the Mission as secular priests. These were Thomas Johnston, who returned in 1649, but six years afterwards went to the monastery at Ratisbon, where he died in 1663. The other two were Charles Fountain and George Innes, who worked on the Scottish Mission till their death, the one from 1655 till 1683, the other from 1673 till 1698. Of those who entered the Society there were several remarkable men. In 1647 there entered the college three converts to the Faith: Alexander Sinclair; William Semple, who had been a professor in the university of Glasgow; and Andrew Youngson, who afterwards taught for seventeen years in the university of Alcalá, and subsequently at Toledo, where in 1678 he published his work *De Providentia et Prædestinatione*—a subject which at the time much exercised the Scottish intellect. There also came in 1699 another convert, Alexander Burnett, the son of a Presbyterian minister; in 1715 John Odie, who was still employed in the province of Aragon, as late as 1732; and in 1727 Ernest Leslie, who came to be professor at Nancy, where he got a name for himself as the writer of French poems. The subsequent career of some of those who did not pass muster is also interesting. Thomas Maxwell became a cavalry officer, and in 1693 fell in battle near Marseilles. Robert Herries studied medicine and healed bodies instead of souls. Hugh Ross, who had been a professor in the university of Aberdeen and had entered in 1647 with the other three converts already mentioned, left in the

following year; but his fate is not known. The saddest case of all, in one way, is that of James Semple, son of Lord Semple, who is marked as impervious to learning — "studiis ineptus omnino."

The first rector of the college was Hugh Semple, nephew of the founder, from 1633 till 1654, and he was succeeded by Adam Gordon and other Scottish Fathers till 1668. Then for a period of forty-five years the rectorship was held by Spanish Fathers, one of whom was a great administrator and cleared the seminary of financial burdens that weighed on it. From 1713 till 1734 Scottish Fathers again held the charge, among them Andrew Clerk and William M'Gill. In 1734, on the authority of the provincial of Toledo, Father M'Gill and the whole community of five students, were transferred to Douai. The house in Madrid became a residence for four Fathers and two lay brothers to attend to public worship for the people in the church attached, while the yearly sum of two thousand reals (about two hundred pounds sterling) was to be sent to Douai for maintenance under the foundation. Of the five students thus transferred three entered the Society, and the other two became soldiers. It is interesting to note that the last on the transferred foundation was John Chisholm, who at the suppression was a novice at Tournai, but afterwards went back to the reconstituted college at Douai, and after fourteen years of work as a priest became Vicar-Apostolic of the Highland district.

But now a great blow was to be inflicted on religion. As the writer of the *Directory* article (p. 166) says : " On 26th April 1767 all the Jesuits of Spain were arrested at midnight, and banished in a most unjust, violent and cruel manner," and all their property confiscated. The same had taken place in France three years before. In the confusion both governments took for granted that all the houses in any way occupied by the Fathers were also the property of the Order. In France the claim of the Scottish Mission to the college at Douai was, after explanations, recognized, and it was reopened under the rectorship of Rev. Robert Grant, sent out by the Scottish Vicars-Apostolic. It took longer to have matters adjusted in Spain. To begin with, the bishops at home knew little or nothing about their rights, as there had been little or no communication in the past with the college at Madrid. Meanwhile the superiors of the Irish College at Alcalá, who knew more, petitioned the Spanish Government to have possession of the property and funds, as Scotland made no claim. But in the nick of time came a friend in need. Dr Perry, whom the English bishops had already in 1768 appointed rector of their recovered college at Valladolid, sent full information to the Scottish bishops and urged them to send out an accredited agent to Spain to claim the property. It was not till 1770 that the Rev. John (afterwards Bishop) Geddes went to Madrid. He not only succeeded in establishing the claim, but also obtained from the Spanish Government the transference of the

college to Valladolid as a more convenient centre, which would, moreover, leave the property in Madrid to be wholly a source of revenue for maintenance. The letters patent of the king declared that "the end of this college, according to the intention of its founder, is the education of Scottish priests, who are to return to their country to preach the Holy Faith, to take care of the Catholics already in that kingdom, and to labour for the conversion of heretics." It is evident that whoever drew up the document had the deed of foundation before him. The Scots College of Spain was now to remove to San Ambrosio, the former great institution of the Jesuit Fathers in Valladolid. It was indeed only to occupy a very small part of it; the rest of the building had been a centre of the higher studies. But it was to possess what had been used as the residence of the Fathers themselves. Here St Francis Borgia was superior for a time; here the great Suarez lived and wrote his treatise *De Eucharistia*; De Lugo was also an inmate, though in his case it is not so certain. Rodriguez wrote at least a portion of his *Christian Perfection* in what is now the Colegio, and Da Ponte wrote his *Meditations* and other ascetical works. As the present rector writes: "The rooms in which he (Da Ponte) lived and wrote were converted by the Jesuit Fathers into an oratory, and the walls, etc., adorned with hundreds of relics gathered from Rome and elsewhere. It is still preserved untouched and precisely in the same state as when they possessed the college. It is known as

'the Reliquary,' and is used as an oratory by the students. Next to Padre de la Puente stands Padre Bernardo de Höyos, a young Father who died in the first year of his priesthood. He is reputed a saint, and his canonization will probably take place in a short time. His name has scarcely got beyond Spain, but here he is called the apostle of the Sacred Heart; he is said to have had several apparitions of Our Lord, who promised him that devotion to the Sacred Heart would become general in Spain."

2. IN VALLADOLID

On 12th January 1771 possession was taken of the new home for the Scots College by a very formal ceremony, in which both the ecclesiastical and civil authorities of the city took part. But it was not till the following May that the actual occupation took place by the rector, two professors and fifteen students. The first rector was John Geddes himself. An interesting correspondence between him and Bishop Hay is still extant on the training to be given, the latter insisting on the need for piety more than for learning. The rector succeeded in 1773 in obtaining the use of a neighbouring church, for which he had to build a connecting passage; and what delighted him further was that "it is dedicated to God in honour of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin." He had so endeared himself at the court of Madrid that, when he

was appointed coadjutor to Bishop Hay, he was invited there to be consecrated by no less a personage than the archbishop of Toledo, primate of all Spain; and, besides valuable presents, he was accorded a yearly pension of a hundred and twenty pounds, which was paid him, though rather irregularly, till his death. The next rector was Alexander Cameron, from 1780 till 1799. It was during his time, in February 1788, that the students distinguished themselves by saving the lives of citizens in an inundation of the waters of the Esgueva, which runs, or then ran, in two channels through the town before falling into the Pisuerga. They carried on their shoulders an immense boat to the scene of the danger, and, launching it, were (to use the rather mixed metaphor of the royal letter of thanks) "an anchor of salvation to the inhabitants of the town." Alexander Cameron was also appointed coadjutor to Bishop Hay in 1798, Bishop Geddes being then a bedridden invalid, and was consecrated at Madrid by the bishop of Salamanca. Whatever was the reason, he did not return to Scotland till 1802, and he meantime performed episcopal functions for the archbishop of Valladolid, who was old and infirm. Among other commissions he had to make a visitation of the Irish College at Salamanca. Though a Roman student, "he was wont to regard the years he passed in Spain as the happiest of his life, wishing to return and end his days in the Colegio." It was he that bought the vineyards, and built the country house at Boecillo. He also got another

wing of the great building in town to be added to the precincts of the college. The third rector was John Gordon, also a Roman student, from 1799 till 1809. During his time occurred the French invasion and the Peninsular War, which obliged him to send the students home, he himself retiring to Montjean, near Toulouse, where he died in 1811. The college remained vacant till 1816, only the vice-rector, Alexander Cameron, junior, remaining to take care of the property. On the return of the students in 1816 he was nominated rector, retaining the charge till his death in 1833. He had himself been a student of San Ambrosio from 1779 till 1791. He is the author of *Lives* of Bishop Hay and of his own uncle, Bishop Cameron. The next rector was John Cameron, "a man held in the highest esteem for his sanctity and learning." He was a "heather" priest, having done all his studies at Aquhorties, and was then to spend the whole remainder of his long life in Valladolid. He arrived in 1816 to be vice-rector and professor, taking with him ten students. Readers of *The Bible in Spain* (Nelson Series, p. 221) will find that in 1835 he had a strange visitor in the person of George Borrow, who says of him: "The rector was dressed in the habiliments of a Spanish ecclesiastic, a character which he was evidently ambitious of assuming. There was something dry and cold in his manner, and nothing of that generous warmth and eager hospitality which had so captivated me in the fine rector of Salamanca, Dr Gartland, a genuine scion of the

good Hibernian tree, an accomplished scholar, and a courteous and high-minded gentleman . . . to whom I bore a letter of recommendation from my kind and excellent friend, Mr O'Shea, the celebrated banker of Madrid" (p. 207). It may at first be a matter for surprise that this distributor of Protestant Bibles should have had such a reception; but those Irishmen had a keen sense of humour, and knew that his Protestant Bibles were only so much waste paper. In fact, Borrow knew as much himself; and the wonder is how he was ever employed by the Bible Society as their agent. But he was a born rover, and he did his best by a judicious sprinkling of anti-Popery remarks over the account of his travels. However, he was unable to fathom the saturnine humour of Don Juan Cameron, who no doubt pumped him dry before he was done with him. Yet he hit the mark as to the character of the rector, who became a Spaniard of the Spaniards, and would never more set foot in any heretical country, not even in Scotland, which he never saw again. He was attentive enough to Borrow, taking him all over the town, and introducing him at the English College and to the Philippine Fathers. Don Juan Cameron was greatly revered by the public of Valladolid, and was held as a citizen-born. His successor was Don Juan Cowie from 1873 till 1879. He had previously been vice-rector and professor from 1843, when he brought out with him a colony of students. The Record says of him that "he was greatly loved by the students, and that his death, as had been his

life, was an edification to all who witnessed it." Then came Dr David Macdonald, who ruled the college from 1879 till 1903, when he retired. He is fondly remembered by the older generation of Colegiales. During his time the whole college was completely renovated, and all modern conveniences introduced through the energy of his vice-rector, Rev. Donald Easson, whose early death in 1899 was a great sorrow to all. Canon John Woods was then rector for six years till 1909. Those who were his fellow-students in Blairs, as well as in Spain, remember his sensible as well as amiable character, and his unbroken record as to observance of rule. He was the very man for the post, but unfortunately his health gave way and he had to relinquish the charge. With the advent of the present rector, Monsignor James Humble, a new era has dawned for the Colegio.

(1) Formerly the students received all their training at home from professors sent out from Scotland, but now they attend the university of Valladolid, three years for philosophy and four years for theology. But this is only the short course, which is not enough for the doctorate. In order to get the degree of Doctor of Divinity one must have gone through a seven years' course of theology, to begin with, and then on subject matter drawn by lot one has (*a*) to write a dissertation and (*b*) to make always a public defence against all comers. This is even more rigorous than the Louvain doctorate, for which a six years' course of theology is a sufficient basis; only at

Louvain the public defence against all comers lasts not one, but two, hours. Again, at Louvain there is still the higher mark of Master in Theology for which (*a*) a dissertation has not only to be written, but to be published, and (*b*) if found worth consideration by the Faculty, a public defence of it, as well as of seventy-two theses from the whole of theology, has to be made against all comers at three sittings of three hours each. Thus, too, the Holy See conferred the degree of doctor on Newman in consideration of his memorable *Development of Christian Doctrine* and his *Justification*, not to speak of his other voluminous works; and the English public considered the honour to be but a step to the cardinalate. Again, some years ago, Rome had to be satisfied in another case that valuable contributions to theology had been published before the degree was given. The same system is followed by the Scottish universities, where even the most brilliant students, by their examination, never get further than bachelorship; and it is only those ministers who afterwards distinguish themselves by publishing works connected with theology that obtain the doctorate. It is to be hoped that, when the clergy become more numerous and circumstances allow it, students of the Colegio, one, or at most two, at a time, will come back to Scotland with the degree of D.D. (Vallisolet).

(2) The property at Madrid has been wholly rebuilt and extended by Monsignor Humble. As it is situated in one of the busiest centres of the city, the rents will be the source of a greatly

increased income for the college at Valladolid. Debt has, indeed, been contracted for the purpose, but it will be easily wiped out on the sliding scale in a comparatively short time.

(3) Not content with that, Monsignor Humble, as a capable man of business, has purchased (to use his own words) " the *finca* of Canterac, just outside the city of Valladolid, two hundred acres of land, surrounded on three sides by a wall, and on the fourth marching with a neighbouring estate. On it there is a very fine mansion built in the Spanish baronial style. The land is in great part arable, producing all the cereal and root crops of the latitude (here he enumerates these crops), also fruit in abundance, apples, pears, cherries, plums, apricots, peaches, quinces and grapes. It is traversed by a private branch canal from the main irrigating canal of Castile, with an unceasing supply of water for irrigating purposes. There are extensive pleasure and kitchen gardens, and two pine woods on the estate. The property was bought in October 1918, for five thousand two hundred pounds with a view to the future transference of the college there, when circumstances might require it. The present college is more than three hundred years old, and shows evident traces of the passage of time ; its locality is deteriorating rapidly, and otherwise the surroundings have become objectionable. All competent to judge are unanimous in declaring the acquisition of Canterac to have been a good bargain." One might add that it was a masterstroke. Even as a desirable investment for

revenue, the acquisition would have been the right thing, just as the acquisition of the vineyards at Boecillo was over a century ago. And the rector's words receive confirmation from an unexpected quarter (*The Bible in Spain*, pp. 221–223): "I found this college (in 1835) an old gloomy edifice situated in a retired street. . . . The English College seemed in every respect to be on a more magnificent scale than its Scottish sister. It is a beautiful building in an infrequented part of the city, and with genuine English exclusiveness is surrounded by a high wall, which encloses a delicious garden." But Canterac will beat this hollow. The only regret will be at leaving the old place with all its hallowed memories; but if not retained, it is to be hoped that the old place will fall into worthy hands, and that the Reliquary will be the scene of an annual pilgrimage to future Colegiales.

During the hundred and fifty-four years till 1925 of its existence at Valladolid there were in all three hundred and eighty-five students admitted into the college, of whom two hundred and eight ordained priests have worked, or are still working, on the Scottish Mission. Of the remaining hundred and fifty, thirty either died in the college or went home to die, thirteen were dismissed, ninety-four left of their own accord as having no vocation, and thirteen were at their studies. It is remarkable that during the Peninsular War several of them—Highlanders all—on hearing "the wild and shrill war-note of Lochiel" could stand it no longer, and joined the army;

one of them, Donald M'Donald, fell leading his company in the breach of Badajoz. Among those duly ordained the Colegio has a splendid roll of distinguished sons. In 1771, the first year of the restored college, entered Lachlan Macintosh, who laboured on the Mission from Glengairn in one of the wildest districts of the country for sixty-three years, dying in 1846 at the patriarchal age of ninety-three. In 1774 came Angus Chisholm, who, after his ordination, remained for some time as professor, and was afterwards consecrated bishop as coadjutor to his brother, Bishop John Chisholm of the Highland district. The year 1777 saw the advent of two celebrated men. One was Paul Macpherson, who came to Valladolid from the Scots College in Rome for the sake of his health and to put a finish to his studies. It would take too long to give the whole career of the Abbé Macpherson, who, as priest and diplomatist, made history, and it is otherwise well known. He was rector in Rome, where he died in 1846 at the great age of ninety. The other was Angus M'Eachern, who after his ordination worked for three years in Barra and the Inner Isles, and then went to the succour of the Highland emigrants in Prince Edward's Island, where he had even greater hardships to endure in looking after his Catholic fellow-countrymen there and elsewhere all round the gulf of the St Lawrence. He became the first bishop of Charlottetown. It is recorded that he superintended the building of the boat, which was afterwards to make the Colegiales famous for their heroism in the 1788 inundation.

It is pathetic that he was in the middle of a conversation about Spain and his ardent wish to see the old place again, when he had the stroke of apoplexy which, after a few days, carried him off in 1835. The year 1778 also saw the coming of two distinguished men. One was Alexander Macdonnell, who was the first resident priest in Glasgow with a congregation of two hundred Highlanders, for whom he erected the old chapel in Marshall Street. In 1803 he conducted to Ontario, in Canada, the disbanded Glengarry Fencibles, and settled them with their families in a district where there is now a flourishing Catholicity. He, too, received episcopal consecration, and became the first Bishop of Kingston. He was the editor of *The Catholic*, described as a "vigorous polemical weekly," and he founded a school of higher studies called the College of Iona, for which he got an Act of Incorporation from the legislature. The other 1778 arrival was Evan Maceachen, equally famous in his way. He had a hard time of it in the Braes of Arisaig and in Badenoch, was for some time professor at Lismore, and then had charge of Braemar. He was a great Gaelic scholar, and published translations in that language of the Catechism, of the *Imitation*, of the *Spiritual Combat*, and of a prayer book. He left MSS. of translations of Challoner's *Meditations* and of the New Testament, which latter was retouched (some say unfortunately) and published by the Rev. Colin C. (afterwards Bishop) Grant. It is to be regretted, in view of the widespread activity of the Kirk in this direc-

tion, that more was not done by our Highland priests after this example. Father Coll Macdonald of Fort William, who often met during his student days at Blairs this "charming old man," then living retired at Ballogie, was himself a Gaelic scholar, but never wrote or published—the more the pity. The year 1780 brought to the college John Sharp, another man of mark. He was afterwards professor at Scalan and Aquhorties, and then had charge of the wide district of Buchan, during which time he was tutor to the young presumptive heir to the Lovat estate, afterwards the first Lord Lovat of the restored barony, his father, Fraser of Strichen, having married a daughter of the Catholic house of the Balquhain Leslies. John Sharp was the last procurator-general of the whole Scottish Mission —a post that required high qualities for finance. He was the first president of Blairs, holding office from 1829 till 1851, but remaining there till his death in 1860 in his eighty-ninth year. He was a highly cultured man and was among the first to adopt the English manner of speech, so much so that his brother James, the procurator at Blairs, who kept to the Doric, used in disgust to say of him: "the chiel disna ken his ain langidge." In 1794 appeared William Fraser, who, after eighteen years of missionary life in the Highlands went to the relief of his countrymen in Nova Scotia, and became later the first Bishop of Arichat (Antigonish). But, to be brief, else this sketch will have no end, and as their history is well known, there came to the Colegio the future

bishops: in 1816, John Murdoch, Vicar Apostolic of the Western District; and, in 1826, George Rigg, the first Bishop of Dunkeld, in the restored hierarchy. But one whom Archbishop Maguire called "the great priest" must not be omitted. In 1843 Alexander Munro entered the college to pursue his studies. His name is still a household word in all Scotland. He was a consummate classical scholar, who appeared to know the Greek tragedians by heart, as when in a dispute about the right quotation he discomfited a high university graduate by handing him the book to look up the line. His intellect ranged over all the thought of the day as well as over philosophy and theology, and he took a great interest in all the branches of physical science. His *Calvinism*, a book so deep that a wag once said that nobody but the author had ever read it through, was greatly admired by the late Lord Bute, and probably had something to do with his conversion. Father Munro's eloquence was of the true metal, not worked up, but spontaneous. His Sunday evening lectures drew such crowds that in the Presbyterian camp his nickname was "Danger." His life was one of incessant toil: and to him there could be no more restful holiday than a few weeks' visit to Valladolid. Later years brought out to the Colegio many more men, famous in their day—to mention some at random—such as Valentine and Hugh Chisholm, William Stopani, and James M'Ginnes, the author of *The Ministry of the Word*. In 1925 on the Scottish Mission there were from the Colegio three bishops,

forming one-half of the hierarchy, and sixty-seven priests, all following in the footsteps of "those who went before them."

The Scots College at Valladolid has every right to expect even a still greater future. It may be said that the very air the students breathe is Catholic, and with every breath loyalty to the Holy See. They are now taught by the theologians of Spain. As is well known, at both the Trent and Vatican Councils the Spanish bishops and theologians, speaking generally, were supreme, while none could surpass them in devotedness to the Vicar of Christ.

IV

THE SCOTTISH MONASTERY AND COLLEGE AT RATISBON

In the *Edinburgh Review* of January 1864 there is an article on "Scottish Religious Houses Abroad," but taken up principally with the Schotten-Kloster, or Scottish Monastery at Ratisbon, which is interesting on several accounts. Here many monks took refuge after the revolution of 1560, and the tradition of the old monastic life in Scotland was carried down till the middle of last century. It is hallowed by the memory of the great defender of the Faith, Ninian Winzet, whose tomb and monument are in the adjoining church of St James. Eventually, dating from

1713, it included a national college for the training of secular priests for work of the Mission at home.

Yet the right of Scotland to have had this monastery at Ratisbon associated with its name by prior claim has been hotly contested. The echoes of this controversy have hardly died away as to whether it was originally an Irish or a Scottish foundation. At the beginning of the seventeenth century three Scottish writers—Conn, Dempster and Chambers—held against Peter Lombard that it owed its origin to monks from North Britain; and during last century Cosmo Innes and Skene upheld the same cause against Reeves. According to Reeves the whole solution turns on the equivocal designation of Scoti. The dominant race in Ireland were the Scoti, and Ireland was called Scotia long before North Britain took that name from their later predominance in that country. Both Columba and Columbanus were Scoti leaving Ireland, the one to go to Iona, the other to France and Italy. As far as historical evidence goes, Iona never spread its influence outside of these islands, whereas in the sixth and seventh centuries the populous monasteries of Ireland issued swarms to the continent of Europe. The Scottish monastery at Ratisbon was one of the many foundations of Irish monks dotting the land, especially along the course of the Rhine and the Danube, from the North Sea to the Mediterranean. Against this it is urged that history attributes the foundation of the Scots monastery of St James at Ratisbon to Hartwich, who ruled the diocese from 1105

till 1126, and hence centuries after the era of Irish foundations had ceased. The reply is that the very stones cry out Celtic monachism; the doorway of the ancient church of St James shows the serpentine and interlacing decoration peculiar to Celtic art. At the beginning of the twelfth century Scotland had no Celtic monks to send, nor is it probable that she could spare for the purpose of a distant foundation members of the new religious orders which she was herself then receiving. The foundation by Bishop Hartwich could only be called so in a loose sense inasmuch as he brought the Irish monks under the Rule of of St Benedict, supplanting that of St Columbanus; this was being generally done at that time to the Celtic monasteries. It could be called the new foundation as a Benedictine abbey. This is borne out by the fact that in the thirteenth century, two hundred years afterwards, the abbot of Ratisbon had jurisdiction over such undoubtedly monasteries of Irish origin as Erfurt, Wurzburg, Eichstadt and Constance, and over Rosscarbery in Ireland itself. Rosscarbery was evidently the home base for the supply of vocations. This is the gist of the controversy, and the decision is left to the judgment of the candid reader.

The undoubted connection of Scotland with Ratisbon begins with the year 1515. Apparently the community had died out, and in that year Pope Leo X. appointed John Thomson, a Scottish secular priest, as commendatory abbot to restore it. This may have been done because it was

impossible to obtain recruits from Ireland at the time. Or it may be that our fellow-countrymen in good faith took advantage of the name "Schotten-Kloster" in order to reclaim their right and to undo what they may have considered to have been another injustice to Scotland. In those days, under James IV. and James V., Scotland loomed large in the eyes of Europe as a power to reckon with; and in that uncritical age nobody would have associated even retrospectively the designation of Scotia or Scot with Ireland. Be this as it may, the commendatory abbot took care to call over four of his own countrymen to start the new life of the community; their names are on record—Thomas Maxwell and Servanus Thomson from the abbey of Dunfermline, John Gordon from Inchcolm, and William Fleming from Paisley. It was the age of the wandering Scot, and others followed to secure the foundation. However, shortly before the religious revolution of 1560 at home, the fortunes of the monastery at Ratisbon were at a low ebb, the abbot having only one monk and one novice to rule. But there was soon to be a great revival. In 1576, on the recommendation of John Leslie, bishop of Ross, Ninian Winzet was called to Rome by Gregory XIII., and was by him appointed to the abbacy vacant by the death of Thomas Anderson. To quote F. A. Forbes (*Leaders of a Forlorn Hope*, p. 198): "There was one drawback, however, to the appointment; Winzet was a secular priest, and not a religious. The difficulty was obviated by a dispensation

from the year of novitiate, and Winzet took the habit, made his profession, and was consecrated abbot on the same day. The officiating prelate was Dr Goldwell, bishop-elect of St Asaph, like himself, an exile for the Faith. The document, testifying to Winzet's installation as abbot, is now at Blairs College." With his characteristic energy he soon restored matters. Assisted by his lifelong friend, Bishop Leslie, he recovered the foundation of Erfurt, and filled both monasteries with monks driven from Scotland. He gave within the monastic walls, or provided elsewhere, shelter to others of his countrymen who were exiles for conscience' sake, and above all to youths for their education, for which purpose he resumed his old functions as master of the Linlithgow grammar school. Nor did the old warrior cease from battle. Fourteen years had passed since he had sent his challenge to Knox which, as Lang (*History of Scotland*, Vol. II. p. 89) says: "remains unanswered to this day." He now published his *Flail for Sectaries*, and replied to several diatribes of Buchanan. He also translated into the Scots vernacular the *Catechism* of St Peter Canisius, a kindred soul whom he must have met. He held the abbacy for sixteen years, one who had been a secular priest till his fifty-ninth year, and perhaps all the better on that account ruling with admirable tact over a crowd of monks, probably of different rules hitherto, whose religious life had been so ruthlessly broken up for them in their native country. One of their number, James Dalrymple, translated into Scots

the *History of Scotland*, written in Latin by John Leslie, as a tribute of gratitude to the bishop, whom they had reason to consider their second founder; for without him they would never have been gathered together in their new home. As time went on their number was kept up by youths arriving from Scotland to enter the novitiate. While most remained for their lives in the calm of the cloister, there were not wanting some who left it to share in the hardships and dangers of the home Mission.

The longevity of the Ratisbon monks recorded in their annals is remarkable; three abbots between them held office for a century and a half. Placidus Fleming, of the family of the earls of Wigton, ruled from 1672 till 1720. During his time many gentlemen of position received their education within the monastic precincts; among others Gordon of Baldoney, Anderson of Tynet, Arbuthnot of Rora, and the well-known names of Gordon of Letterfourie, Leslie of Balquhain and Menzies of Pitfodels. It is not so well known that Abbot Leith, who succeeded, accompanied Prince Charles Edward in the rising of 1745, though it is not clear in what capacity. The last superior who had the standing of abbot was Benedict Arbuthnot from 1775 to 1820. He gave hospitality to two memorable visitors, the first being Bishop Hay in 1781 on his way to Rome. The two men were typical Scotsmen, each great in his own sphere, the one already grown grey with the worries of the episcopate, the other still a young man, serene in the peace of a Catholic

country, with his troubles yet to come. They became fast friends ; and the bishop presented to the monastic library copies of his own books just published, as also Tytler's *Vindication of Queen Mary* and *Pastorini's Letters*, works which created a great stir in that day. The other visitor was the poet, Thomas Campbell, who in his wanderings turned up in 1800. He was a genial soul, and afterwards was loud in his praises of the hospitality he received from his fellow-countrymen. From the top of the monastic tower he witnessed the course of a stiffly fought battle between the French and Austrians, and he may have drawn therefrom the inspiration of his poem of "Hohenlinden." After the fall of Napoleon the monks were of great service to the English diplomatists who attended the diet at Ratisbon, in connection with the Congress of Vienna, to settle the affairs of Europe. Yet, in great measure due to that settlement, evil times were now to begin for the Scottish foundation of St James. There were to be no more abbots ; and during the remaining forty years of its life it was ruled successively by two priors, Maurice Graham and Benedict Deasson or Dawson, the latter of whom died in 1855 at the patriarchal age of eighty-one. He was the uncle of Rev. William Dawson, who was priest of Inverness for many years, and grand-uncle of Fathers William and James Dawson of later times—all of a good Huntly stock. After his death there were only two monks left, Anselm Robertson and Placidus Boehme. Father Anselm left Ratisbon in 1859, and during the

'sixties of last century he was a well-known figure in Glasgow as the founder and director of the Westthorn Reformatory for boys. Later he joined the new Benedictine community of Fort Augustus to be the link between the old and the new monastic life of Scotland. Placidus Boehme appears to have remained on till 1861, when all connection with Scotland ceased. What became of him is not known, but probably he retired to a German monastery.

"It was the end of an auld sang," but not without a determined struggle, lasting for twenty years, to save the foundation for the Scottish Mission. The Bavarian Government had considered it an anomaly that such a vast monastery should be in the occupation of only two or three monks, and representations were made to Rome with the view of converting it into an establishment for a German community. The Scottish Vicars-Apostolic took alarm, and consulted what was best to be done. The obvious solution was to assert the proprietary right of the Catholic Church in Scotland, for whose benefit only any change in the destination of the property could in justice and equity be made. Nor was there even need to change the destination; for it was also a seminary of more than a hundred years' standing for the education of secular priests for Scotland. Prior Deasson and his two monks were consulted, and as they had lost all hope of getting novices from Scotland, they were quite agreeable to the suggestion that on their demise the monastery should be entirely converted into

a national college under secular priests as superiors. Accordingly, Bishop Kyle in 1840 went to Rome to consult the Holy See, and then pleaded the Scottish cause at Munich, but did not convince the Bavarian Government, which, however, left the matter over for further consideration. In 1847 the bishops returned to the charge, and deputed one of their number, Dr Gillis, as their agent. He too went to Rome, and afterwards to Munich; his negotiations are thus graphically narrated in the *Catholic Directory for Scotland*, 1865 (p. 132): "In July 1848, having received from the Vicars-Apostolic ample powers to negotiate and to conclude the business relating to the monastery and seminary at Ratisbon on the most advantageous terms he could obtain for the benefit of the Scottish Mission, Dr Gillis proceeded to Bavaria and, having interested in his favour the bishop of Ratisbon and the surviving religious, he repaired to Munich and had an audience of the king, who received him favourably, listened to his application, and referred him for a definite answer to his minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs. After a delay of four months an answer was returned refusing everything and threatening that, if within six months the monastery were not supplied with subjects, it would be delivered over to native members of the same Order. This document, founded on erroneous assumptions, was replied to by Dr Gillis in a memorial entitled 'Reclamations,' setting forth the claims and rights of the Scottish Mission to the whole property, proving that the intention of the

founders and benefactors was to benefit the Catholic religion in Scotland and not the Bavarians, and pointing out the injustice of wresting the seminary from the Mission as nothing less than an act of spoliation. Dr Gillis submitted this memorial to Lord Palmerston, then Foreign Secretary, and solicited him to use his good offices with the Court of Bavaria to obtain more favourable terms. His Lordship, in promising to use his influence, suggested that the memorial should be laid before him in a more condensed form, which was done. Dr Gillis was engaged in this fruitless negotiation for eight months. The British Government did make a representation through their envoy at Munich, and the measure was suspended while the whole matter was referred to the final decision of the Holy See." Thus a respite was given, and the policy of the bishops appears now to have been to fill the monastery with as many students for the secular priesthood as possible in order to strengthen their claim for its conversion into a national college. In the year 1852 the Rev. William Smith, afterwards archbishop of St Andrews and Edinburgh, was sent out, as recorded in the *Catholic Directory for* 1893 (p. 266): "In the year 1852 Dr Smith was chosen by the bishops of Scotland for the difficult and responsible work of reorganising the famous Scots College of St James at Ratisbon. He proceeded immediately to his new post, followed by thirteen students who were sent thither to establish the nucleus of a seminary." He remained for a year and a half to accomplish

his task. The number of the students thus added to would probably have been twenty; sufficient, it was hoped, to make a due impression on the Bavarian Government. But it was all in vain; the final decision of the Holy See, given in 1861, was in the form of a compromise, probably not so much on the merits of the case as on account of the determined attitude of the Munich authorities, who paid over, not direct to the Scottish bishops, but into the hands of the Pope, ten thousand pounds by way of indemnity. How this money was allocated is told in the *Catholic Directory for* 1879 (p. 156): "The long pending settlement of the claims to the property of the seminary attached to the suppressed Benedictine abbey of St James at Ratisbon was brought to a close. In 1861 Cardinal Antonelli informed Dr Grant (rector of the Scots College, Rome) that the Pope desired to apply to the enlargement of the Scots College the sum received from Bavaria as compensation for the seminary. At this unexpected communication, Dr Grant resolved (instead of enlarging) to rebuild the whole college."

The Ratisbon foundation is now the local diocesan seminary. Since 1861 no students from Scotland, as in the days of old, have been admitted within its walls to come home priests for the Mission. The last survivor of them, the venerable Provost Mackintosh of Mingarry, died in 1927 over ninety years of age. Those who are past middle life will remember others who pursued their studies on the banks of the Danube.

One of them was Bishop John Macdonald of Aberdeen. The students at Blairs in the seventies of last century often saw Father John Shaw of Aboyne, who gave them glowing accounts of the life out there in Bavaria; but it was too late, as they now had no choice except between Rome, France and Spain, or being "heather" priests. The present writer recalls the sadness he felt when on a visit to Ratisbon he was shown through the old place. It was a page of past history; everything spoke of Scotland—the monuments in the church of St James, which still goes by the name of the "Schottenkirche," and the memorial tablets on the corridor walls of the seminary. The latter was seen to be a splendid building, capable of accommodating at least thirty students each with a room. And all bore the sign manual of Celtic monks carved in stone on pillars and walls, to whichever branch of Celtic monachism it is to be attributed. He then turned away with a sigh to see the rest of the town, to sail on the lordly Danube, and to view the country around. It appeared to him that Ratisbon came up to the conditions required by Cardinal Newman for an ideal place of studies, being, as it is, a lively intellectual and artistic centre situated in a pleasant region with a salubrious climate. What is more, Ratisbon is a devotedly Catholic city; besides other churches, like Rome it has its St Peter's in its thirteenth-century cathedral. Its bishop was a resolute champion in the Vatican Council for the definition of Papal infallibility, and in 1906 was given the pallium as

a mark of special distinction. It has been the advantage of the Scottish clergy to be a blend of different types of college culture; Scotland has lost one of these, and is much the poorer by the loss.

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